ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM OF THE MARATHAS

[FROM ORIGINAL SOURCES]

BY

SURENDRANATH SEN, M.A., PH.D.,

LECTURER IN MARATHA HISTORY AND MARATHI
LITERATURE, CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

SECOND EDITION

REVISED AND ENLARGED

PUBLISHED BY THE
UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA
1925

കേരള സാഹിത്യ
അക്കാദമി

RAMA VARMA RESEARCH INSTITUTE,
TRICHUR, COCHIN STATE.

ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM OF THE MARATHAS

BY THE SAME AUTHOR

Published by the Calcutta University

SIVA CHHATRAPATI

VOL. I, PP. 284, RS. 4-14

Being a translation of *Sabhasad bakhar* with extracts from *Chitnis* and *Sivadigvijaya.*

OPINIONS

Prof. Ramsay Muir—Your work bears all the marks of exact and scientific scholarship and both you and the University of Calcutta have every reason to be proud of the admirable beginning thus made in the rendering of an essential service to historial scholarship.

H. Beveridge.—Mr. Sen has done good service by making a new translation of Krishnaji Sabhasad's chronicle.

C. A. Kincaid.—I had myself thought of translating Sabhasad's bakhar. But I am very glad you have saved me the trouble.

G. S. Sardesai.—I have compared the translation with the original and am glad to say that it is faithful, elegant and yet quite simple.

K. N. Sane.—(Vivida Dnan Vistar) On the whole the work of translation has been well done.

C. H. Keith Jopp.—The notes seem scholarly and the references to history all conceived in a judicial spirit.

R. N. Leslie Moore.—
afforded me great pleasure

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TO MY PARENTS

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PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION

Shivaji, born in 1627, captured Torna in 1646 and died in 1680, at the comparatively young age of fifty-three. Before his death he had founded a mighty Hindu kingdom in defiance of the Sultanates of Bijapur and Golkonda, then tottering to their fall, and the Chaghatai, miscalled Mughal Empire, then at the zenith of its power under Aurangzib Alamgir. Within a decade of its founder's death, the infant Maratha power was faced with a serious crisis. The son and successor of Shivaji was captured and decapitated and the infant heir to the throne became a Mughal prisoner. Further expansion was out of the question, the very existence of the kingdom was threatened. The Marathas undeterred by the power, wealth and prestige of the empire engaged in a life and death struggle which ended in their favour. With the return of Shahu to his paternal kingdom opened a new era of conquest and expansion. The Maratha horsemen reached the extreme North-Western frontier of India, their horses drank the water of the Indus and the empire extended from sea to sea. The

Maratha empire was apparently still in its full vigour when a conflict with a Western power brought about its disruption and fall. The last Hindu empire of India passed away after a chequered existence of 170 years.

It is commonly believed that this vast empire existed merely by plunder and robbery. An eminent English writer has described the Maratha generals as 'robbers, plunderers and scoundrels.' But it is very difficult to understand how an empire could last for over a century and half by robbery and plunder alone, unless it had a surer and firmer basis of good government. Grant Duff does not answer this question. Ranade had set himself to this task and his brilliant chapters on the administrative institutions of Maharashtra served as an eye-opener to many, but he was cut off by death before his task was fully accomplished.

A comprehensive work on the administrative system of the Marathas was wanting, but materials for such a work had been fast accumulating. The scholarly labours and the patriotic devotion of Sane, Rajwade, Khare, Parasnis and a host of less known, but not less sincere, workers had brought to light such a mass of original documents, that it is a veritable Solomon's mine and the very first descent took me in the midst of treasures of high value and I felt my labour amply rewarded. I got the answer I had been seeking.

The Marathas were not mere robbers and plunderers. From their original documents I found that they had an excellent set of regulations for their own empire. Further investigation convinced me that these regulations and administrative institutions were not their own inventions, they had inherited them from their Hindu and Muhammadan predecessors. The administrative system of the Marathas is thus of surpassing interest. It explains the causes of the disruption and downfall of the last Hindu empire, it gives a history of the survival and development of the old Hindu administrative system, it supplies an important and interesting illustration of inter-action of Hindu and Muslim principles on each other, and it helps us to understand the growth of the present British Indian administrative institutions, partly engrafted as they are on older Hindu and Muhammadan systems. This is indeed the justification for publishing this work which the toil of the last five years has produced.

The work, I know, has its limitations. It is an account of the Maratha Government and its evolution, without a strict chronological treatment. A serious student will here, I hope, find ample indication as to where to turn for more information. It may be objected that the Hindu political philosophers quoted in Book III were mere theorists and probably they did not describe the institutions, laws and regulations actually prevalent in their times. But my aim has been to indicate the origin of the Maratha institutions, and the real character of the Hindu works on polity do not concern me at all. If they dealt with theories alone, the Maratha institutions illustrate quite well how many of these theories were put into practice. There will be found repetitions, but my excuse is the convenience of the reader, and as the subject is somewhat technical, I thought it better not to tax his memory with unfamiliar terms to an excessive degree. Lastly, a comparison with English institutions has been found necessary. The Marathas have suffered in the estimation of modern students, because their institutions have been judged by the standard of modern times and that is why I have thought it necessary to compare their laws and regulations with those of contemporary Europe. England has been specially selected for the simple reason that we are best familiar with her history, past and present, not because I have any bias against her. It may be that I have my unconscious bias for my own country. and unconscious prejudice against the rest; but I have always tried not to indulge in any such feeling.

To Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University and President of the Post-Graduate Councils, I am specially grateful for the facilities and encouragement I have uniformly received from him. Seven years ago, just after completing my college education, I approached him with a scheme of research work. Inspite of his onerous duties of various kinds, he not only gave me a kind and patient hearing, but that inspiring encouragement which a young man needs so much before commencing a serious work with which he has not been hitherto familiar. When I left for Jubbulpore in 1916 to join the Robertson College there, I little thought that I should be able to prosecute my studies under the fostering care of my own *alma mater*. In 1917 I was appointed a University Lecturer. The Library then offered very little facilities for any serious work in Maratha History. Sir Asutosh promptly sent Rs. 500 to the late Prof. H. G. Limaye of Poona to purchase published source books of Maratha History for the University Library, and it is needless to say that but for the facilities he had uniformly given me, I could not have carried on my work.

Prof. H. G. Limaye would have been delighted no doubt to receive my published work had he been alive to-day. In him I have lost a true friend, teacher and guide.

The first training, in the use of original documents, I got from my teacher Principal R. B. Ramsbotham, M.B.E., M.A. He has laid me under further obligations by revising my manuscript and giving me valuable suggestions. He has taken an interest in this work that an affectionate teacher alone can take in that of a pupil.

I am indebted to Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar, Carmichael Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Calcutta University, Prof. R. C. Majumdar, now of the Dacca University, Dr. B. M. Barua, Rai Bahadur B. A. Gupte, Mr. G. S. Sardesai, Sardar Tatya Saheb Mehendale, Mr. D. V. Potdar, Mr. Henry Beveridge, late of the Bengal Civil Service, and Prof. J. N. Sarkar of Patna, for many useful information and suggestions. I should also take this opportunity of acknowledging the kind assistance I got from Messrs. T. K. Buxy, T. V. Mone, B. C. Watchmaker, D. G. Matange, and G. R. Tamhankar all of the Robertson College, Jubbulpore. Mr. W. S. Rowlands, then officiating Principal of the Robertson College, enabled me to devote more time to my researches by reducing my lecture work.

I have to thank the Oxford University Press and Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnis for permission to reproduce the portraits of Shivaji, Sambhaji and Rajaram. The portraits are from the Parasnis collection and have been reproduced from 'A History of the Maratha People' by Kincaid and Parasnis. Rao Bahadur Parasnis has also permitted me to reproduce two portraits from his *Poona in Bygone Days*. For two blocks I am indebted to the proprietor of the *Masik Basumati* of Calcutta.

The tedious but nevertheless useful work of compiling an Index has been carefully done by my friend and colleague Mr. Tripurari Chakravarti, M.A. And last, but not the least, I am deeply indebted to Mr. A. C. Ghatak, B.A., Superintendent of the Calcutta University Press, for assistance of all kinds over and above what he is expected to render in the ordinary discharge of his official duties.

I could not mention Professor Takakhav and Mr. Keluskar's voluminous life of Shivaji Maharaj in my introduction to Book I. I have in the meantime gone through Lal Kavi's *Chhatraprakash* which does not seem to contain much that is of use to a student of Maratha History.

I wish I could add an introductory chapter to discuss the sources of Book II but ill health and lack of time prevented me from doing so. Diacritical marks cause unusual delay and have not therefore been used in the text, but their use in the glossary will, it is hoped, remove to a certain extent, the inconvenience caused by this omission. These defects will be removed if the book ever goes through a second edition.

SENATE HOUSE;
CALCUTTA,
18th February, 1923.

S. N. S.

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PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

The first edition of this book received an unexpectedly kind reception from the public and was exhausted within a year of its publication. I could not, however, revise the text until three months ago for reasons I need not mention here, and although much new material has been utilised, no textual change has been possible. I have identified a few more taxes mentioned in Book I with the help of Portuguese documents, and two new Appendices on the Karkhanas and coins mentioned by Sabhasad have been added. An introductory chapter has been added to Book II briefly indicating the nature of the original records on which it is based, and the Military System of the Peshwas has received a more detailed treatment. The new notes on Chauth and the naval practices of the Marathas will, it is hoped, also prove interesting.

I am very grateful to H. E. Dr. Jaime de Morais, Governor-General of Portuguese India and his Chief of the Cabinet for kindly permitting me to examine the unpublished Portuguese records in the Goa archives and to the Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor and H. E. the Chancellor of the

Calcutta University for their kind recommendation to the generous Portuguese Government. But for the help I received from my friends Prof. P. Pissurlencar of Pangim and Dr. P. Bragança Cunha it would have been impossible to take the fullest advantage of the facilities that the recommendation of H. E. Lord Lytton and the Hon'ble Sir Ewart Greaves and the courtesy of H. E. Dr. Jaime de Morais secured for me. I am also indebted to Mr. A. F. M. Abdul Ali, Keeper of the Imperial Records, Calcutta, for the use of some unpublished English records; and my friend Mr. Bala Saheb Ghorpade of Poona has placed me under great obligation by collecting for my use a number of rare Marathi works. My friend and colleague Mr. Tripurari Chakravarti, M.A., has, as before, prepared the Index. But for the ungrudging help of Mr. A. C. Ghatak, M.A., Superintendent of the Calcutta University Press, it would have been impossible to get this book printed within the short period of twelve weeks. I also avail myself of this opportunity for publicly offering my grateful thanks to their Highnesses the Maharaja Holkar and the Maharaja Gaikwad for extending to this humble work their generous patronage.

It is impossible for me to close this preface without a reference to the kindly interest that the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee took in this work.

Long before the second edition could be taken in hand the glorious career of the greatest Vice-Chancellor of our University was suddenly cut short while yet in the prime of life. With his usual enthusiasm he had gone through this work and promised to make some suggestions. It is needless to say that the present edition would have gained immensely in value had he been spared to make them.

S. N. S.

SENATE HOUSE:
The 22nd August, 1925.

CONTENTS

BOOK I

Page
Our Sources of Information 1
Central Government; Ashta Pradhan Council 28
Revenue and Finance 76
Organisation of the Military Department ... 127
Organisation of the Navy 158
Other Aspects of Administration ... 164

BOOK II

Sources of Information 173
The Period of Transition 183
Village Communities 209
District and Provincial Governments ... 243
Imperial Secretariat 267
Revenue Administration 272
Other Sources of Revenue ... 308
Administration of Justice 347
Social Affairs; Prison and Police ... 397
Other Aspects of Administration ... 433
Appendices 477

BOOK III

Council and State Departments ... 485
Town Planning 498

Page
Village Communities 503
City Police 522
Land Revenue and Cesses 525
Army 548
Judicial Institutions 554
Appendices 580

Book IV

Revenue Principles 593
Revenue Policy 609
Military Organisation 632
The Police 647
The Karkhanas 656
Glossary 665
Bibliography 672
Index 682

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Shivaji.
Sambhaji.
Shahu.
Mahadaji Sindhia.
Shivaji's image at Malwar.
The Peshwa and his Ministers.
Nana Fadnavis.
Baji Rao II.
Maratha Gallivats attacking an English ship.
Maratha Cavalry.

BOOK I

ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM OF SHIVAJI

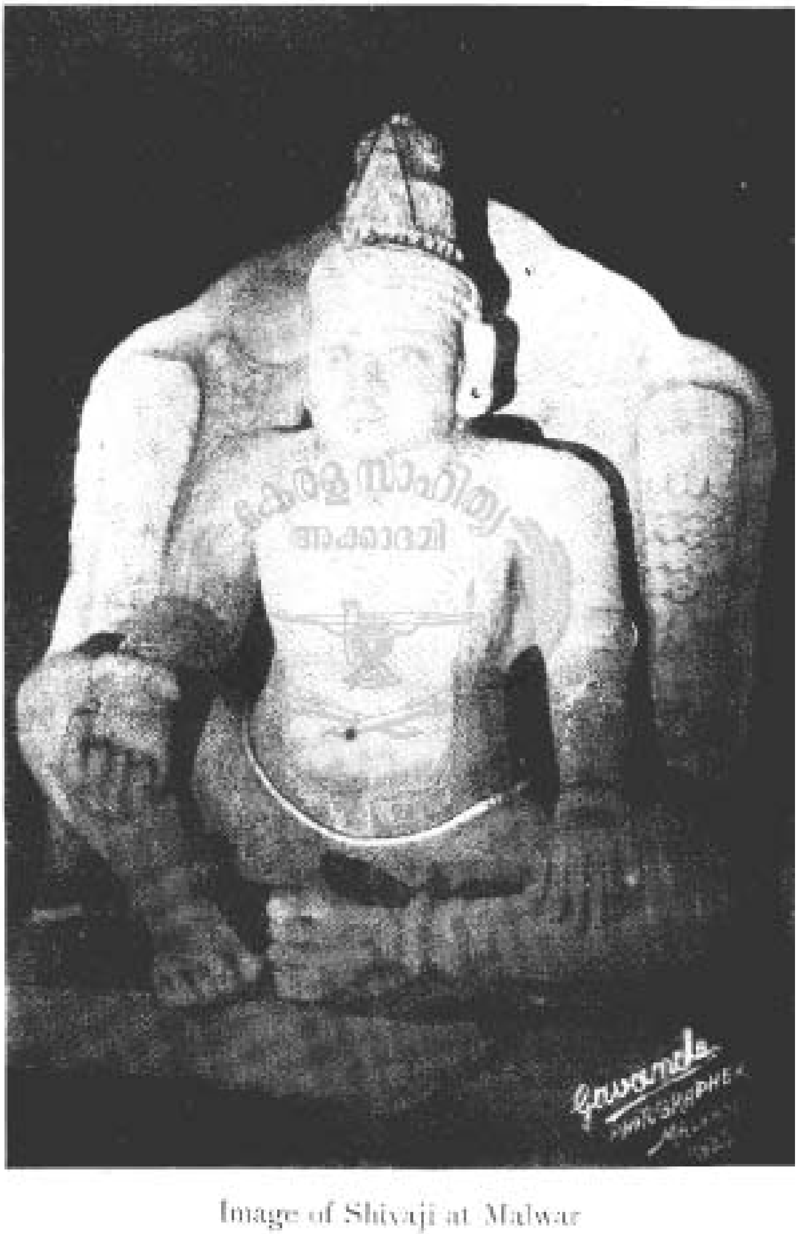
Gawande
PHOTOGRAPHER

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Image of Shivaji at Malwar

By courtesy of Mr. B. V. Vaserkar

INTRODUCTION

SOURCES OF INFORMATION

A comprehensive history of the Maratha administrative system is still a desideratum.

While dealing with the Peshwa period, we are confronted with such an amazing abundance of materials, that we can hardly expect to do justice to them. State-papers have been carefully preserved. Revenue regulations, instructions to revenue collectors and higher officials, deeds of sale, and other documents, judgments in both civil and criminal suits, have come down to us in their hundreds and thousands. They give us a vivid picture of the government as it actually was in the Peshwa period. But when we approach the Shivaji period, we are confronted with such a scarcity of materials as is most discouraging. Of state-papers we have but very few, and they are not very important either. Mr. Rajwade complains[1] that during his twenty years of labour and research, he has hardly come across twenty-five important Shivaji-papers. Most of these papers again are political and diplomatic correspondence, and do not enlighten us about the administrative system. Fortunately, however, some old documents, that cannot properly be styled as state-papers, have after ages seen light, thanks to the labour of Mr. V. K. Rajwade. These give us useful information about some of the early adherents of Shivaji, the history of their *watans*, sometimes an account of their deeds and exploits and often a long and exhaustive list of the taxes, cesses, and *abwabs* of those days.[2] From these family papers of the old *Sardars* and *Jagirdars* we can frame a fairly accurate sketch of the administrative system of Shivaji, but these papers have to be used with extreme care and caution.

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[1] *Itihas Ani Aitihasik.*

Next in importance, are the *bakhars*[3] or Marathi prose chronicles.

Supremely indifferent, like their Muhammadan teachers, to everything that affected the ordinary people, the Maratha chroniclers pay very little attention to the administrative system of their times and the economic condition of their country. They give lengthy accounts of battles, gossiping stories of the superhuman deeds of their heroes, interesting anecdotes of well-known personages, and confine themselves mainly to the narration of political events. Consequently, we learn very little from them. Sabhasad, who wrote in 1694, is perhaps the most sensible as he is the earliest of Shivaji's biographers. Condensed and concise in style, he devotes a few pages to Shivaji's regulations, both civil and military. Chitragupta, who elaborated Sabhasad's work, added a few stories and verses of his own composition. The only additional information that we obtain from Chitragupta is a short page where he enumerates the duties of the secretariat officers.

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[2] These papers have been published by Mr. Rajwade in the 8th, 15th, 16th, 17th, 18th and the 20th volumes of his *Marathyanchya Itihasanchi Sadhanen*.

[3] Most of these *bakhars* have been published by Rao Bahadur Sane in the *Kavyetihas Sangraha*.

Malhar Ram Rao Chitnis, who wrote his *bakhar* long after Sabhasad, does not give us any additional information about the administrative system. His *Rajniti* is a treatise on polity, in which he compiles the theories of public administration from old Sanskrit works. It could not, therefore, have any bearing on the actual government of Maharashtra as it then existed, although the duties of the eight *Pradhans* might probably have been compiled from some old papers. *Shivadigvijaya*, the most voluminous work of its kind, is full of legends and impossible stories, but has not a word to say about the working constitution of Maharashtra in Shivaji's days. The only thing we should note here is that Messrs. Dandekar and Nandurbarkar, the joint editors of *Shivadigvijaya*, have failed to prove their contention, that it is the work of Khando Ballal, son of Balaji Avaji.[*] It is in all probability a very recent work; and consequently, its evidence has but little weight with the modern student, who aspires to study history as a science. The same editors have published another *bakhar*, *Shri Shivaji Pratap,* which is nothing but a compilation of myths and legends. The anonymous author had not only no historical training, but he seemed to lack historical knowledge altogether. This *bakhar* is, therefore, absolutely useless both for a reconstruction of the political history of Maharashtra, and for the compilation of an account of Shivaji's administrative system. Very recently a sixth *bakhar* has been published by Mr. Bhave in his *Marathi Daftar*. It is only an elaboration of *Sabhasad*. The anonymous author has copied freely from an old manuscript of Sabhasad's *bakhar*, and his own additions are not at all trustworthy. About Shivaji's civil and military regulations, he has nothing more than an extract from Sabhasad to give. Even there he has omitted some old and obsolete words, which he evidently did not understand.

A seventh *bakhar, viz*., the *Shahanavkalmi bakhar* was discovered and published in the columns of the now defunct periodical, the *Prabhat*—by Mr. Chandorkar; this *bakhar* is alleged to have been found by the old copyist in the *daftar* of Annaji Datto, a Brahman officer, who played an important part in Shivaji's service. It is, however, devoted mainly to political history, and it is not quite trustworthy.

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[*] I have discussed the point more fully in my *Extracts and Documents relating to the Maratha History*, Vol. I.

· An English translation of a *bakhar* found at Rairi has been published by Prof. Sir G. Forrest. Scott-Waring, who wrote in 1811, spoke very highly of the original. This, however, has unfortunately been lost. The accuracy of the English translation has been challenged by the late Justice Telang.[1] On the whole, it may be safely asserted that this *bakhar* is not worth much. The *Kayastha Prabhunche Bakhar* is very modern and is of no use to us.

Lastly there remains a *bakhar* of peculiar interest. Discovered and published by Mr. V.K. Rajwade in the abovementioned magazine, the *Prabhat*, this *bakhar* is of very little historical value, but it is a wonderful specimen of human industry. The published *bakhar* covers more than one hundred pages honestly printed, and the whole of it was found inscribed on the stone walls of a temple at Tanjore.

A work of unique value and character is *Sambhaji's Adnapatra* or *Marathshahitil Rajniti*. It is commonly attributed to Ramchandra Panta Amatya, who commenced his political career under

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[1] Ranade's *Rise of the Maratha Power*, p. 259 *f*.

Shivaji and was responsible for the defence of Maharastra during Rajaram's absence at Jinji. He lived to witness the return and restoration of Shahu but remained loyal to the Kolhapur cause of which he was the mainstay after Tarabai's fall. The present work is believed to have been compiled in 1716 at the request of Sambhaji II of Kolhapur and was published for the first time, half a century ago, in the columns of the *Vividha Dnan Vistar* of Bombay in 1875. The work, however, long remained unnoticed, and the manuscript was in the meantime lost. It was reprinted in 1922 from the printed text, when its importance was realised by Mr. G. S. Sardesai. The language leaves no doubt about its antiquity and the work is most probably genuine. The author, whoever he might have been, had close personal knowledge of Shivaji's government. In the second decade of the 18th century the antifeudal policy of Shivaji had already been abandoned in practice, but the author still recommends it in a manner that leaves no doubt that he had served under the great Shivaji and was merely echoing him.

Mention should also be made here of *Jedhe Yanche Shakavali*, published by the late Mr. B. G. Tilak, but its main importance is chronological. A few Marathi papers have also been published by the Bharat Itihas Sanshodhak Mandal of Poona. Some more papers have beer published by Rao Bahadur Sane in his *Patre Yadi Bagaire* and by Messrs. P. V. Mawji and D.B. Parasnis in their *Sanads and Letters.* Sardesai's *Marathi Riasat* is not of much importance in this respect, though it is invaluable to a student of·political history. And this fairly exhausts the materials we have in Marathi.

Sanskrit Sources.

A few years ago only two Sanskrit works *viz.*, *Shiva Raj Prashasti* of Gaga Bhatta and *Shiva Kavya* of Purushottam Kavi were known. The latter was a Maharashtra Brahman and the former a contemporary of Shivaji and their works are useless for our purpose.

But the untiring labours of Maratha scholars are daily unearthing many new works composed by contemporary poets. Of these the *Parnal Parvat Grahanakhyana* edited by Sadashiv Mahadev Divekar and *Radha Madhava Vilasa Champu* edited by V. K. Rajwade have already been published. The author of both these poems was one Jayaram Pinde, a scholar and linguist of no mean ability. These works may be made to yield, after a careful examination, many interesting historical information. But the most important of all such poetical biographies, *Shiva Bharat*, yet awaits publication. The work was first discovered by Mr. Divekar in its Tamil version in the Tanjore Library. But a critical examination of the text led Mr. Divekar to suspect that the original must be in Sanskrit. An elaborate search proved that he was right, but we do not as yet know what new light it may throw on the civil and military institutions of Shivaji. The most important Sanskrit work for our purpose is *Rajvyavahar Kosh* attributed to Raghunath Pandit. It is a dictionary compiled at Shivaji's request in which Sanskrit synonyms have been supplied for all current words of Persian and Arabic origin. The dictionary is in verse and divided into ten different chapters or sections after the manner of the *Amarkosha.* The author knew the institutions and their working and his list of the Karkhanas and the Karkhana officers supplies information not available elsewhere. The work, short as it is, throws light not only on the civil institutions but also on the military establishments of Shivaji. This invaluable little work was published at Bombay as early as 1860 by one Kashinath Gangadhar Kshatri, but is now extremely rare. It is needless to say that it deserves republication and a critical edition will be of immense use to all students of Maratha history.

Hindi Sources.

In Hindi, there is only one contemporary work—the poems of Shivaji's court poet Bhushan.

His *Shiva Raja Bhushan* and other poems may be of considerable literary merit, but they are of very little interest to a historian. Moreover, they do not make the slightest reference to Shivaji's administrative system. *Chhatra Prakash* by Lalkavi is useless to a student of Maratha administrative institutions.

Tamil and Telugu Sources.

As has already been pointed out, *Shiva Bharat* was first discovered in its Tamil rendering. Prof. Krishnaswami Ayangar told me that linguistic evidence led him to believe that the Tamil version could not be very old. In a paper read before the Second Oriental Conference at Calcutta, the Late Pandit Subba Rao of Madras pointed out that a short biography of Shivaji was available in the colophon of an old Telugu work dedicated to one of his Tanjore relatives. The Tamil and the Telugu sources, however, are for most students of Maratha history a sealed book and cannot be utilised without the co-operation of Madras scholars.

Persian Sources.

Both Hindu and Muhammadan writers must have written a good deal about the wonderful career of Shivaji in Persian. There are moreover very important letters, so far as political history is concerned, written by Jai Singh and other officers of Aurangzib from the Deccan. Whether these make any incidental reference to Shivaji's administrative system is yet to be investigated. This source, however, promises to be fruitful in more than one way. For the present, I have to be satisfied with such imperfect English translation as we get in Scott's Ferishta, Vol. II. and still more inaccurate and fragmentary translation as has been given by Elliot and Dowson in their *History of India*. Of the authors selected there the most important is Khafi Khan, but there is very little in his work to help us in our study of the administrative system of the Marathas.

French Sources.

Dr. Dellon, a French physician, visited the western coast of India and published a short account of his travels on his return home. The small volume was so interesting that it was translated into English shortly after its publication. He praises Shivaji as a tolerant and liberal prince. But his information was derived mainly from hearsay.

Many French travellers came to this country when Shivaji rose to power. Of these the works of Bernier and Tavernier are well known. Both of them made reference to Shivaji's military power and the terror he created in the minds of his enemies. Bernier alludes to the respect and consideration Shivaji had shown for persons of character and piety during the first sack of Surat. Monsieur de Thevenot visited India in 1666. He devotes an entire chapter to Shivaji, but his account of the great Maratha's career is hopelessly inaccurate. According to Thevenot, Shivaji was born at Bassein and was thirty-five in 1664, when he sacked Surat. He does not mention the Afzal Khan incident and credits Shivaji with the capture of Shaista Khan's daughter, who was treated with all honour and respect to which she was entitled. His account of Shivaji's flight from the Imperial Court is also untrustworthy. Martin's *Memoirs* is of great importance to students of military history; the extracts published by Prof. J. N. Sarkar in the *Proceedings of the Historical Records Commission*, however, throw no light on the civil institutions of Shivaji. An interesting account of Shivaji's Karnatak expedition has been left by the Jesuit missionaries of Madura. This is available in Bertrand's *Mission de Madure* and an English translation of the relevant portion will be found in the appendices of *History of the Madura Nayaks* by Prof. R. Sathinathayer of Trichinopoly. The Jesuit letters substantially corroborate the Maratha account of the expedition and as Shivaji undoubtedly made an adequate arrangement for the government of the conquered country, we may unhesitatingly hold that the aim of this expedition was conquest and annexation and not merely plunder as suggested by Prof. Jadunath Sarkar.[6] Like Martin's *Memoirs* the contemporary Jesuit letters compiled by Bertrand and the earliest French biographies of Shivaji are of very little use to a student of his administrative system.

Portuguese Sources.

One of the earliest biographies of Shivaji was written in Portuguese. The author, Cosme da Guarda, styles himself as a citizen of Marmugao near Goa. His work, though composed in 1695, was not published till 1730 and the editor says that the manuscript was discovered by a fortunate accident only. Of the author we know absolutely nothing. According to the *Diccionario*

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[6] Prof. Sarkar himself admits that civil Governors were appointed for the newly conquered tracts and an army of occupation was left to quell all disturbances and risings. He goes further and says—"The districts that he retained in Central and Eastern Mysore as the result of his Karnatak expedition, had to be connected with his old dominions by the conquest of the Southern corner of Bijapur." This was effected and "the country was formed into a regular province of Shivaji's kingdom and placed under Janardan Narayan Hanumante as Viceroy" (Shivaji and His Times, pp. 405-407). It is difficult to reconcile this with the Professor's dictum that, "It is incredible that a born strategist like Shivaji could have really intended to annex permanently a territory on the Madras coast, which was separated from his own dominions by two powerful and potentially hostile states like Bijapur and Golkonda, and more than 700 miles distant from his capital." (Shivaji and His Times, First edition, pp. 366-67). This is, however, not the place to examine this question in detail.

Bibliograpico Portuguez, Prof. Pissurlencar informs us,[7] Cosme da Guarda was not the real name of Shivaji's Portuguese biographer (O nome de Cosme da Guarda é affectado) and the late Sr. J. A. Ismael Gracias seriously held that Guarda, though a genuine Portuguese, did not belong to Portuguese India at all. Guarda's work seems to have been known to that indefatigable English historian Robert Orme, for among his manuscripts we find an index of a work called *Vida de Celebre Sevagy*.[8] Cosme da Guarda, whoever he might have been, did not care, like many of his contemporaries, for accuracy and he gravely asserted that Shivaji, though populary known as the youngest of Shahaji's twelve sons, was really the offspring of an illicit relation between Jijabai and Dom Manoel de Menezes, a Portuguese gentleman of Virar near Bassein. This naturally reminds us of Clement Dunning's story about the Abyssynian origin of Kanoji Angria. The credulity of that age rendered Guarda incapable of being overcritical, but strangely enough even in these days of historical criticism Guarda's story has afforded a source of interminable and bitter controversy. The story was given currency in English by the Late Dr. Gerson da Cunha in the *Journal of the*

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[7] Xivaji Maharaj Com Sangue Portugues ?

[8] Hill, Catalogue of Manuscripts in European Languages belonging to the Library of the India Office, Vol. II, pt. 1, p. 204.

Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society and it at once drew an angry retort from Mr. V. K. Rajwade in the *Saraswati Mandir*. Rajwade demolished this palpably absurd story so thoroughly that his article was expected to give the controversy a quietus. But only recently another Luso Indian writer Dr. J. J. Fragoso has come forth to vindicate Guarda in a small pamphlet entitled *Xivaji Maharaj Vencedor de Abdulcan*. He suggests that the word doze in "doze filhos de Sagy" was a printing mistake and if we substitute dois (two) for doze (twelve), there need not be any difficulty in accepting Guarda's story. Prof. Pissurlencar has given a crushing reply to Fragoso's contention in his *Xivaji Maharaj Com Sangue Portugues* and this question need not detain us any longer. Full of gross inaccuracies as Guarda's work is, it is not altogether useless to a student of Maratha history for it supplies some information about Shivaji's navy.

Julio Firmino Judice Biker has published in his *Coolecçao de Tratados e Concertos de pazes que o Estado da India Portugueza fez com os Reis e Senhores com que teve relaçoes nas partes da Asia e Africa Oriental* the texts of two treaties concluded between Shivaji and the Portuguese in 1667 and 1670. They throw some light on the military and naval exploits of the Maratha hero as well as on his diplomatic activities. An English summary of the more important clauses of these treaties will be found in the present writer's *Report on the Historical Records at Goa.*

The late Dr. Dalgado of the Academy of Sciences, Lisbon, informed Prof. Sarkar that there are no Portuguese State papers relating to Shivaji at Lisbon.[9] The perusal of Danvers's report also leads one to the same conclusion.[10] None of these scholars make any reference to the Goa records. The courtesy of H. E. Dr. Jaime de Morais, late Governor General of Portuguese India, afforded the present writer an opportunity of going through some unpublished Portuguese records embodied in the *Livros dos Reis Visinhos.* The first volume of *Reis Visinhos* is of unique importance to the students of Shivaji's administrative institutions as we come across here some letters throwing new light on the origin of Chauth. An English translation of these letters has been for the first time published in my *Historical Records at Goa*, but the Portuguese original is not yet available to the general reader. I am inclined to think that further researches at Goa and Lisbon may be rewarded with adequate results. The Portuguese had for so many centuries to deal with the Marathas, both as friends and foes, that many contemporary events must have found place in their letters, reports and despatches.

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[9] Sarkar, Shivaji, 1st Ed., p. 508.

[10] Report to the Secretary of State for India in Council on the Portuguese Records relating to the East Indies, contained in the Archivo Da Torre Do Tombo, and the public Libraries at Lisbon and Evora, by F. C. Danvers, Registrar and Superintendent of Records, India Office, London, 1892.

The Portuguese deliberately refrained from interfering with the ancient rights and privileges enjoyed by village communities of Goa and the Government often instituted enquiries about the customary rights and perquisites of the village officers. The results of one such enquiry are available in a Foral issued by Affonso Mexia, Veedor da Fazenda, as early as 1526. The text of this Foral is available not only in official publications like *Codigo das Communidades* but also in such popular works as *India Portugueza* by Lopes Menedes. An abstract of this important document was published by R. S. Whiteway in his *Rise of the Portuguese Power in India* and B. H. Baden-Powell dealt with it more minutely in a learned paper contributed to the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* in 1900 under the heading—*The Villages of Goa in the Early Sixteenth Century*. The Portuguese also decided to retain the old taxes and duties levied by their Muhammadan predecessors and as a result many of these old taxes survived in Portuguese India long after they had become obsolete in Maharashtra. A reference to taxes and duties in Portuguese India therefore sometimes enables us to ascertain the real nature and incidents of similar taxes mentioned in old Marathi records. In this respect, Saldanha's *History of Goa*, Moniz's work on Daman, Joao Baptista Amancio Gracias' *Subsidios para a Historia Economico. Financeira da India Portugueza* and Phillipe Nerry Xavier's works on village communities are of very great use.

As the average British Indian reader is not sufficiently aware of the importance of the Portuguese sources of Maratha History, I may here briefly indicate how much we can learn about the army and navy of Shivaji's successors even from published Portuguese works. Almost all the important records of a political character have been published by Cunha Rivara, Balsemâo, Phillipe Nerry Xavier, Ismael Gracias and others. Most of these published records have found a place in the monumental work of Judice Biker. They afford us an insight not only into the military and naval organisation of the Marathas but also in their court life and civil institutions. We get an interesting account of Sambhaji's campaign against Goa in Ismael Gracias's *Uma Dona Portugueza no corte do Grao Mogol.*[11] In the appendices of the same work we come across a few original letters about the maritime activities of the Angrias. Ismael Gracias has published almost all papers relating to the Maratha conquest of Bassein in *O Oriente Portuguez* of which he was long the sole editor and principal contributor. No more important and reliable account of the Maratha military system can anywhere be obtained than that supplied by an exceptionally brilliant Viceroy, the Marquis of Alorna, in the instructions that he left for his successor, the Marquis of Tavora. The original Portuguese work was published more than seventy years ago under the able editorship of F. N. Xavier and a few extracts were quoted by Danvers in his *Portuguese in India.* The entire work has, however, been rendered into English by the present writer. The Marquis of Alorna did not confine himself to military matters alone, and his remarks upon the peculiar organisation of the Maratha empire and its inherent weakness deserve careful consideration. An estimate of the military and naval power of the Marathas is found also in *Instrucçoes do Dom Jose I,* the authorship of which is rightly attributed to the celebrated Marquis of Pombal. Pombal had no first-hand knowledge of Maratha affairs, but he must have found ample materials for his subject in the reports and correspondence from India. Space does not permit me to deal with this subject in detail here, nor am I in a position to give a list of the interesting manuscript accounts of naval encounters between the Portuguese and the Marathas, preserved at Lisbon and Evora. Curious readers are referred to the works of Cunha Rivara and Ismael Gracias. It is superfluous to say that the unpublished records of Goa have not all been exhaustively studied and they may be made to throw light where darkness now prevails. The Portuguese Government have appointed a distinguished Indian scholar as Curator of their archives at Goa, and there is every reason to hope that his contribution to our knowledge of Maratha history will not be less important than that made by his predecessor and teacher J. A. Ismael Gracias.

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[11] A Portuguese account of this compaign translated into English for the India Office has been published by Prof. Sarkar in the *Journal of the Hyderabad Archaeological Society* (1919-20). The word *Lascarin* in that paper (p. 15) however, has somewhat puzzled the learned Professor. It stands for, as every student of old Portuguese records knows, native Sepoys. Dalgado has explained the word in his *Glossario*,

English Sources.

In English we have a number of works about Shivaji and the Marathas. The Surat and Bombay Factory Records are invaluable historical documents, and their importance cannot be overestimated. They are useful to the writer of a political history, and some information about Shivaji's navy and his commercial policy can be gleaned from them.

In addition to these old factory records, English travellers have left us the accounts of their travels in the Maratha country, and English historians have left us the result of their researches. The earliest English traveller to write an account of the Maratha country and Shivaji's court was Fryer. A physician by profession, he had visited Bombay and seen some parts of Shivaji's dominions. But his stay in the Maratha country was very short, and his information was by no means accurate. His account of "Several *Brachmins* whose Flesh they tear with Pincers heated Red hot, drub them on the Shoulders to extreme Anguish," betrays a good deal of humour, but is evidently untrustworthy. Even Khafi Khan, who delighted in abusing Shivaji, gave him credit for the respect he had usually shown to holy places and holy men both Hindu and Muhammadan.

Mannucci's *Storia Do Mogor*, another contemporary work, has been translated into English by a great scholar, the late Mr. Irvine. The gossiping adventurer loved to give anecdotes in which he himself figured. He claims to have met Shivaji in Jai Singh's camp, but unlike most European writers refrains from giving any account of his dominions, his people and government.

Robert Orme wrote his *Fragments* long after Shivaji's death. But all that he learnt of the great Maratha ruler were popular legends. These were reproduced by John Bruce, Esq., M.P. and F.R.S., Keeper of His Majesty's State-papers and Historiographer to the Hon'ble East India Company, in his *Annals of the East India Company.* Both Orme and Bruce failed to give any account of the administrative system of Shivaji. What their version of political history is worth, will be evident from the following account of the night attack on Shaista Khan :

"In the next campaign, Aurungzebe reinforced Chaest Chan's army by sending the troops of the Maha-Rajah of Joudpore to join him. These generals were at variance with each other ; the Maha-Rajah, to gratify Sevagee undertook to assassinate Chaest—the murderers broke in on Chaest, who escaped with severe wound ; but his son was slain."[12]

The most important English work, from our point of view, is Major Jervis's *Geographical and Statistical Memior of the Konkun.* He was a junior contemporary of Elphinstone, and the work of surveying the Konkan was entrusted to him. While so engaged, he gathered valuable information about land revenue settlement, in all probability, from popular traditions. He tells us many things about Malik Ambar's and Shivaji's land revenue settlement, Annaji Datto's survey and assessment, but never quotes any authority. It is, therefore, extremely difficult, or rather impossible, to verify his assertions. Hitherto I have come across only one Marathi document,[13] a circular letter of Annaji Datto, that supports Jervis's account of the *bighaoni* survey. But this does not improve our situation much. We can, without much hesitation, accept Elphinstone's account of the administrative system of the Peshwas or Sir John Malcolm's account of the Central India chiefs. For both of them had personal acquaintance with men who had served under the Peshwas and the Maratha and Rajput chiefs of Central India, and who could give them first-hand information. But the case of Jervis is altogether different. He lived and wrote two centuries after Shivaji. Most of the old documents were yet unknown in his time, and he had to rely mainly upon popular traditions transmitted from generation to generation. Consequently, it is extremely difficult either to accept or to reject the views of Jervis. The writer of the *Bombay Gazetteer*, however, has accepted Jervis as the sole authority on the subject.[14]

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[12] Bruce, Vol. II, p. 39. Orme was more accurate than Bruce.

From these old authors we turn to Ranade with a sense of relief. Born in Maharashtra, and educated in western method, Ranade combined in him the three qualities so indispensable for a historian of the Marathas. He knew the language and traditions of his country, was well conversant with the historical method of the west and had ready access to all papers then available. With true historical instinct he made a deliberate departure from the beaten track and selected a course of his own. His fame to-day does not rest on the discovery of a new document or an unknown event, but on the surer basis of the right interpretation of the history of his people. He did not confine himself to dry details of battles and sieges, but tried to discover the real cause, remote and immediate, of the rise, progress, and downfall of the Marathas. This made him study the civil institutions of Shivaji very carefully, for they were, according to him, not only the outcome of Shivaji's genius, but also an expression of Maratha aspirations. It is beyond doubt that Ranade was the first scholar to guide us properly to the real sources of Maratha history, as he was the first to perceive the real importance of the administrative system of Shivaji. It is a matter of regret that the many-sided activities of the great savant did not permit him to devote his leisure solely to the study of his country's past. Modern researches have made some of his conclusions untenable to-day, but the credit of pointing out a new angle of vision belongs entirely to him. He might have erred in minor details, but while dealing with the broad principles, his judgment never failed him. It is true that we do not get in his work as much information as we wish for, but that is because many papers, now published, had not yet seen light when Ranade lived and wrote.

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[13] Rajwade, M. I. S., Vol. XV, pp. 369-70.

[14] Since this was written my attention has been drawn to a Marathi document published in Rajwade, Vol. XXI, which, substantially corroborates some of Jervis's figures.

Scott-Waring was the first writer to attempt a comprehensive history of the Marathas in English. His work was published in 1811. But we get little more than a narrative of political events in Scott-Waring's History. In the third decade of the 19th Century, another scholar, destined to be famous as the historian of the Marathas, undertook to write out a more satisfactoty history. Captain Grant Duff was more fortunate than his predecessor in the attempt in more than one way. As Political Agent, he had ready access to all papers in the Satara archives. The descendant of Shivaji was ever ready to assist him in all possible ways. Perhaps many of the later spurious *bakhars* owed their origin to the zeal of Chhatrapati Pratap Singh to gratify the Agent Saheb. Above all Grant Duff had the great advantage of working under the guidance of Elphinstone.[15] But Grant Duff had not sufficient materials for sketching out a graphic account of the administrative system of Shivaji. Prof. H. G. Rawlinson's *Shivaji the Maratha* is a very recent publication, but it does not aim at dealing in detail with the civil institutions of Shivaji. Another recent work dealing with Shivaji is the first volume of the *History of the Maratha People* by Messrs. Kincaid and Parasnis. From the great mass of published materials and the still greater mass of unpublished documents in the possession of Rao Bahadur Dr B. Parasnis, it was expected that the long felt want would at last be removed. But we have again been disappointed. Far from giving us a comprehensive account of Shivaji's administrative system, the joint authors have not even made any serious attempt to supplement our knowledge in that direction. Prof. Takkhav and Mr. Keluskar have devoted one long chapter to the administrative institutions in their voluminous *Life of Shivaji Maharaj*.

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[15] See Elphinstone's letter quoted in Colebrooke's *Life of Elphinstone*, Vol. II, pp. 136-39.

Sydney Owen of Oxford has drawn a brilliant sketch of Shivaji in his *India on the Eve of the British Conquest*; but it is only a study of Shivaji's political career. Pringle Kennedy has also given us a charming picture of Shivaji and Maharashtra in his *History of the Great Moghuls*. But neither of these scholars studied the original documents. They relied mainly on such secondary authorities, as Khafi Khan, Orme and Grant Duff, and their aim has been to write a readable and sensible summary for the general run of readers. From them, therefore, we should not expect anything that we do not get elsewhere. Maratha history has for them only a relative interest.

Prof. Jadunath Sarkar's *Shivaji and His Times* is important and interesting in its own way. He has utilised many sources of Maratha history hitherto unexplored. The chapter on Shivaji's navy is of special interest to us.

A few articles on Maratha history were published in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.* The following are the most useful for our purpose :

1. Ranade—*Currencies and Mints under Maharatta Rule.*
2. J. E. Abbott—*A preliminary study of the Shivarai or Chhatrapati Coins.*
3. P. V. Mawji—*Shivaji's Swarajya.*
4. Codrington—*Seals of Satara Kingdom.*

So far as my information goes, no attempt has yet been made of sifting and examining these scattered materials on scientific lines and of presenting the results in a handy and intelligible form to the ordinary student No one will contest that such an endeavour is worth making. In the following pages, it has been my aim to present a fairly accurate sketch of the Maratha government, its principle and working. I have, for the sake of convenient treatment, divided the history of the Maratha administrative system into two periods. The first period opens with the rise of Shivaji and closes with the accession of Shahu. The second period begins with the accession of Shahu and ends in 1818, when the Peshwa's territories were finally annexed to the British dominions. The administrative system of Shivaji practically continued unchanged till the death of Rajaram, and the Peshwas also found it convenient to leave the old system intact with a few changes in the central government. Otherwise, the administrative system of Shivaji was, for all essential purposes, identical with that of the Peshwas. It will, therefore, be my duty to indicate the few differences that existed in theory and practice between the governments of the two periods. But there is another interesting enquiry to be made. Shivaji was not the creator of a new system. He modified and reformed what he had inherited from his Hindu and Muhammadan predecessors. Every administrative system has its roots in the past and the Maratha system was by no means an exception. I have made an attempt to trace the growth and development of the Maratha institutions from their old Hindu prototypes. But my account does not claim to be complete and should not be treated as the last word on this comprehensive subject.

CHAPTER I

CENTRAL GOVERNMENT ; ASHTA PRADHAN COUNCIL.

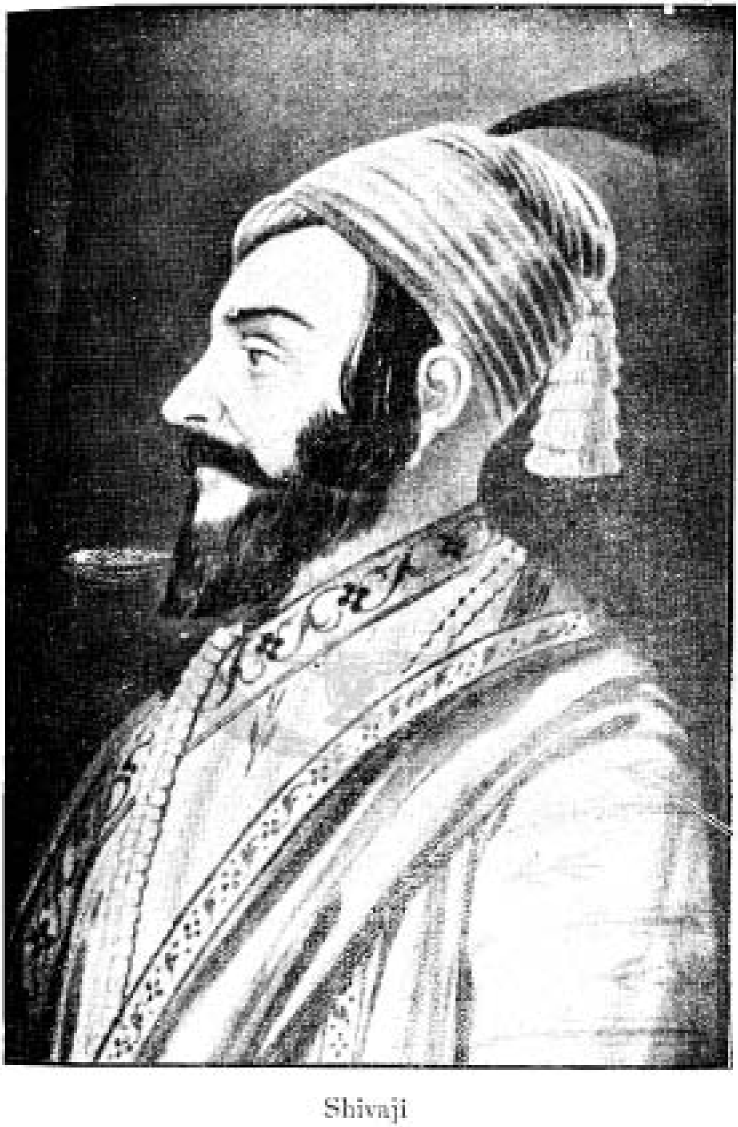
1. Disorder and anarchy a heritage :

" Shivaji Raja was famous for his forts," says Lokahitavadi.[1] He had captured and built no less than two hundred and forty forts and strongholds.[2] He used to prize them highly and large sums were usually granted for their upkeep and repair.[3] The importance of these forts in a defensive war had been amply demonstrated in his lifelong struggle against the Mughals, yet no one will concede for a moment that fortification of inaccessible hills and rocky isles formed Shivaji's best claim to the reverence of posterity. His greatness as a military leader has never been contested, but his greatness as a civil administrator is perhaps still more undoubted. The Marathas have been well known for their military prowess from time immemorial. The old Rashtrikas, their

[1] Lokahitavadi, Aitihasik Goshti.

[2] Sabhasad, pp. 98-101 and Sen, Sivachhatrapati, pp. 140-148

[3] Rajwade, M. I. S., Vol. VIII, pp. 17-19.



Shivaji

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ancestors, were soldiers of no mean reputation. They had fought under the banner of the Chalukya prince Pulakeshin and beaten back the victorious army of the great Harshavardhan. Ferishta tells us how difficult the Bahmani kings found it to tackle the mountain chiefs of Maharashtra. They had again won fresh laurels under the celebrated Malik Ambar, when the Mughal forces of the great Akbar had to beat an ignominous retreat before them. Shivaji, therefore, found the materials for an efficient army ready made. The rocks and hills, the mountain passes of his native land, offered him suitable sites for impregnable forts. But neither the nature of the country nor the character of its inhabitants was in favour of the establishment of an orderly government.

Shivaji had to evolve order out of chaos. The Nizamshahi dynasty had been overthrown by the Mughal arms while Shivaji was still a little child. The Bijapur government was not strong enough to maintain peace and order. The country was devastated by war, and even the neighbourhood of Poona was depopulated. Dadaji Konddev had to offer rewards for killing wolves[*] that infested the uncultivated fields and deserted homesteads and the people who lived in the Mawal valley were in many respects worse than wild beasts. Blood feud was the order of the day, and plunder and rapine formed the normal state of things. Almost every watan had two or more claimants and they fought to the bitter end. In his blind fury the Maratha watandar felt no pity for his rival's widow and orphan children. But even the apparent destruction of the family would not bring the feud to an end. The loyalty of an old adherent would often save a pregnant lady or an infant heir in some village or mountain fastness far away from their native hamlet. The child would never be allowed to forget the wrongs of his family. When grown up he was sure to avenge his dead relations, and plundered house.[5] The anarchy of the time has left its marks on the family papers of the old Deshmukhs, and nowhere do we get a more terrible account of these feuds in all their horrors and bloodshed than in the papers of the Jagdales of Masur and the Jedhes of Rohidkhore. The Jagdales could not even count on the fidelity of their own servants. Their family history runs as follows :

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[*] See Bombay Gazetteer.

"The Desai of Karhad was Jagde Rau Rajgardal Deshmukh. He had two wives, they had four sons ; Babaji Rau was the son of the first wife. The sons of the second were three, the eldest Ramaji Rau, the second Vithoji Rau, and the youngest, Dayaji Rau. Such were the four (sons). Then the father became old, and they began to quarrel. The father said, "You should not quarrel. I shall divide among you what is yours"; so he said. Then he gave to the eldest Babaji Rau the Patilship and the Deshmukhi of Masur and the villages under its jurisdiction. To Ramaji Rau (and others) he gave four villages, Karhad, Aud and two other villages under the jurisdiction of Karhad. Then Ramaji Rau stationed two barbers of Aud as his agents at Karhad and two clerks, Raghunath Pant and another, for the work of management. * * * At that time the barber, the clerk and the Mokasi had united. Then these three decided to murder the three brothers Ramaji Rau, Vithoji Rau and Dayaji Rau. They shut the two brothers Ramaji and Dayaji Rau in a room and murdered (them). Then the remaining brother Vithoji Rau fled and came to Masur. * * * At that time the Patilship of Targaon also was ours. A Brahman was stationed there as an agent. The Brahman engaged two servants Kaligade and Khochre and he and his son proceeded to Benares; on the way they were murdered by Kaligade and Khochre. Then these two began to quarrel about the Patilship. * * * And Babaji Rau became very old. He had two sons—the elder Vithoji and the younger Kumaji. A *mali* (gardener) was in his service. Every day five maunds of flowers were strewn on his bedstead for Babaji Rau's enjoyment. Then he became very old and the *mujavar* (sweepers of the mosque) waxed strong in the village. The sons of his old age (being very young) were 4 and 1½ years of age. So he engaged the mali for the management of his household, and for the management of the fields was engaged a *dhangar* who tended (his) sheep. Mangi dhangarin was his mother. The mujavar, the mali and the dhangarin made a common cause and decided to murder Babaji Rau and his children. * * * And then the murderers came. They wrapped the younger son in a rug and threw him below the cot and murdered Babaji Rau in his bed. Then the elder son said, 'I have recognised you. You are the sweepers of the village mosque and you have murdered my father.' Thus he spoke, and they murdered him. Babaji's wife had concealed herself in a corner. She fled to Chitli with the younger son Kumaji." These are by no means the only murders in the bloody annals of the Jagdale family. The mujavars did not escape unpunished. Young Kumaji wreaked a terrible vengeance and decapitated three of them.[6] Shahaji, the father of Shivaji, took the Patilship of Masur with the life of its owner, an uncle of Mahadji Jagdale Deshmukh.[7] The revenge of those irreconcilable spirits knew no awe or respect for power, and the Jagdales sought a strong ally to assert their claim against Shahaji's son Shivaji. But their connection with the Mughals brought fresh disasters on them and at length these turbulent Deshmukhs had to forget their pride and seek Shivaji's protection and patronage.

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[5] He would often seek the assistance of a powerful neighbour, generally at the price of a portion of the disputed watan, and this man would take up the quarrel as if it was his own. See Rajwade, M.I.S., Vol. XV, pp. 117-118.

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[6] Rajwade, M.I.S., Vol. XV, p. 9.

If the Jagdale annal is a savage one, no less gruesome is that of the Jedhes. One of the two Jedhe brothers, while returning from the Adilshahi capital with a *farman* for their watan, was waylaid and murdered by one Khopre, a rival claimant. The surviving brother Baji fled to the sea coast, assembled a few adherents, purchased the assistance of twelve good swordsmen at the cost of a portion of his ancestral property, and calmly waited for a suitable opportunity. Such an opportunity came, when Khopre, off his guard, was celebrating his marriage. Hardly were the nuptials over, than Baji Jedhe with his followers fell upon Khopre and murdered him with sixty of his attendants. Kanhoji, a descendant of Baji, became so powerful that he defied the authority of the Adilshahi king. He left seven sons; the youngest of whom Naikji was won over by the Sultan: two of his elder brothers killed him in their anger, and were in their turn murdered by Naikji's widow Ansaba, who afterwards gave birth to a posthumous son. Her infuriated brothers-in-law had no mercy either for the widow or for her baby. Ansaba was soon after murdered, but the devotion of a nurse saved the child who took shelter with Baji Pasalkar. Hardly was the family dissension over than Kanhoji, son of Naikji, began to quarrel with the Bandal Deshmukh and a bloody battle was fought. Their differences were settled when Kanhoji entered the service of Shivaji.[8] But the Khopres, though humbled, had not been rendered altogether harmless. They joined Afzal Khan against their rivals' master, Shivaji.[9] Such were the men whom Shivaji had to deal with and the times in which he had to work.

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[7] Rajwade, M.I.S., Vol. XV, p 1.

2. *Further Difficulties* :

He was further handicapped in his work of reorganisation and reform by the ignorant indifference of his subordinates and lack of comprehension on their part. The art of war, as a source of honour and emolument, appealed to them more than the art of peace. If they had been allowed to follow their individual inclination, they would have gladly renounced the work of consolidation for a campaign of conquest. No less a man than Nilo Pant Mazumdar had earnestly prayed to be relieved of his civil duties so that he might "render military service, like other men and capture forts when necessary." Nor was he reconciled to his duties until Shivaji had assured him that his services in his civil capacity were as important as those of a commanding officer and would be appreciated in the same manner as the military exploits of the Peshwa.[10]

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[8] Sardesai, pp. 173-174.

[9] Rajwade, M.I.S., Vol. XV, p. 394.

But Shivaji never tried to achieve the impossible. A practical statesman, he wisely rejected all unworkable ideals. He knew that the difficulties in his way were great, but he also knew that without an orderly government his kingdom would not be worth a moment's purchase, and so long as private war and blood feuds continued, he would not be able to introduce in his infant army that strict discipline which was essentially required for his very existence. Peace and order were absolutely necessary. But unless he could unite under his banner the numerous chiefs who exercised petty sovereignty in Maharashtra, a strong orderly government would be an idle dream. Once his aim was defined, he refused to be hampered by ordinary scruples. Policy required that he should try conciliation first. He was frequently unsuccessful, but whenever conciliation failed he did not hesitate to take stronger measures. One by one, the Deshmukhs of Mawal submitted to his authority and a considerable portion of the Bijapur territory was conquered. It was now that Shivaji had to frame a working scheme of government; but he was confronted with a very difficult problem. He had to decide how far the old system should be continued and to what extent reformed. Wholesale conservation and wholesale reform were equally out of question. The first would grant a fresh lease of life to feudalism with its concomitant evils of private war, blood feud, anarchy and oppression. A keen observer, he did not fail to notice the evil effects of the feudal system in the tottering kingdoms of Bijapur and Golkonda. But the total abolition of feudalism would alienate most of his countrymen, some of whom had submitted to him but reluctantly. He knew that the great defect of the Maratha character was its selfish individualism. The Maratha watandar thought of his watan first and of his country afterwards. Shivaji had, therefore, to strike a mean between the two extremes that would at the same time reconcile the watandars and ensure comparative order and peace.

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[10] Rajwade, M. I. S., Vol. VIII., pp. 8-9. The document is very important, but an English translation is not necessary as the sense has been given above.

3. *General Structure of Government:*

The village communities in Southern India flourished from the dawn of history. When these democratic institutions first came into existence none can tell.[11] But in the absence of a highly developed central government, as we now have, the village communities served the needs of the time admirably. Shivaji decided to leave them undisturbed in their internal organisation. In fact the village republics exercised almost the same powers, enjoyed the same privileges and underwent the same responsibilities from the time of their origin down to the establishment of the British Government in India, when many of their immunities and privileges were found incompatible with a highly centralised modern government. Over a group of these self-contained units had formerly been placed the Deshmukhs and the Deshpandes. Originally appointed for revenue collection, they gradually made their office hereditary and assumed and exercised almost sovereign authority. The circumstances of the times, and the geographical features of the country, helped this feudal evolution. But Shivaji could not allow this state of things to go on uninterrupted. Feudalism meant the negation of a strong monarchy. Shivaji, therefore, appointed his own revenue officers, but the Deshmukhs and the Deshpandes were left in the enjoyment of their old rights and perquisites. They were on no account to exercise their old tyranny. Rayats were given to understand that henceforth they would have nothing to do with the Desais and the Deshmukhs. To render them altogether harmless Shivaji further prohibited them to build any walled or bastioned castle, and like Henry II of England, demolished some of the strongholds of these local tyrants.[18] "In the provinces," Sabhasad says, "the rayats were not to be subjected to the jurisdiction and regulations of the Zamindar, such as the Deshmukh and the Desai. If they offer to plunder the rayats, by assuming authority [over them], it does not lie in their power. The Adilshahi, the Nizamshahi and the Mughlai Desh were conquered [by Shivaji]. In the Desh all the rayats used to be under the Patil and the Kulkarni of those places, and the Deshmukhs. They used to make the collection and to pay an unspecified sum (as tribute). For a village, where the Mirasdars took one to two thousand (Hons or Rupees?), (they) used to render two hundred to three hundred to the Government as quit-rent. Therefore the Mirasdar grew wealthy and strengthened (himself) by building bastions, castles and strongholds in the village and enlisting footmen and musketeers. They did not care to wait on the revenue officers. If the revenue officers said that they could pay more revenue (the Mirasdars) stood up to quarrel with them. In this way (they grew) unruly and forcibly misappropriated the (lands in the) Desh. On this account did the Raja demolish the bastions, the castles and the strongholds after conquering the Desh. Where there were important forts, he posted his own garrison. And nothing was left in the hands of the Mirasdars. This done, (he) prohibited all that the Mirasdars used to take at their sweet will, by inam (right) or revenue farming, and fixed the rates of due in cash and grains for the Zamindars, as well as of the rights and the perquisites of the Deshmukh, the Deshkulkarni, and the Patil (and) the Kulkarni, according to the yield of the village. The Zamindars were prohibited to build bastioned castles. (They were to) build houses (and) live (therein). Such were the regulations for the provinces." In this manner the danger of feudal anarchy was to some extent averted.

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[11] The Maratha village system will be fully described in Book II.

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[18] Sabhasad, pp. 32-33, and Sen, Sivachhatrapati, pp. 37-38.

4. *Ashta Pradhan Council*:

Like the Kamavisdars and the Subhedars of the Peshwa period, the Karkuns, the Tarafdars, the Havaldars and the Subhedars of Shivaji had to look after all the branches of Civil administration.

At the head of the government was the king himself, assisted by a council of state. It was known as the Ashta Pradhan Council, as eight ministers had seats in it. These were:

1. The Peshwa or the Mukhya Pradhan.
2. The Mazumdar or the Amatya.
3. The Waknis or the Mantri.
4. The Dabir or the Sumanta.
5. The Surnis or the Sachiv.
6. The Pandit Rao, or the Royal Priest.
7. The Senapati or the Commander-in-Chief.
8. The Nyayadhish or the Chief Justice.

When this council was first organised, we do not precisely know. At the time of the coronation the eight[13] 'pradhans' (ministers) had stood on either side of the throne to pour holy water from gold and silver jars and basins, over the king's head.[14] Malhar Ram Rao Chitnis tells us that it was then that the council came into being.[15] These offices, however, were by no means new. Though the Mukhya Pradhan, the Amatya, the Mantri, the Sumanta, the

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[13] Sabhasad, p. 82; Chitnis, p. 162. Sen, Shivachhatrapati, p. 115.

[14] Chitnis, p. 161.

[15] But all these offices, existed long before the coronation. By the word Ashtapradhan here, Chitnis, therefore, does not mean the mere offices but the council. In the next sentence he mentions the appointment of the two Secretaries. These were also by no means new appointments. It is quite possible that the old officers were formally reappointed, according to the rites prescribed by the *Shastras* for the coronation ceremony. See also Lokahitavadi, Aitihasik Goshti, p. 7

Sachiv and the Senapati were unknown, people were quite familiar with the Peshwa, the Mazumdar, the Waknis, the Dabir, the Surnis, and the Sarnobat. What Shivaji did, was to retain the old posts with new Sanskrit designations. But whether these new designations meant any new power or new responsibility, is not certain. It is, however, significant that an official paper (kanujabta) was drawn in the first year of the *Abhisheka* era to enumerate the duties of the eight Councillors (pradhans) and other heads of departments.[16] But it is quite possible that this paper was drawn up simply to enforce a stricter method in the existing organisation. Sabhasad tells us that the following officers had enjoyed the privilege of taking part in the coronation ceremony as members of the Ashta Pradhan council:

1. Moro Pant, son of Trimbak Pant, as Mukhya Pradhan.
2. Naro Nilkantha and Ramchandra Nilkantha as joint Amatya.
3. The son of Raghunath Rao as Pandit Rao.
4. Hambir Rao Mohite as Senapati.
5. Dattaji Trimbak as Mantri.
6. Ramchandra Pant, son of Trimbakji Sondev Dabir as Sumanta.

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[16] Sabhasad, p. 83. Sen, Shivachhatrapati, p. 116.

7. Annaji Pant (Datto) as Sachiv.
8. Niraji Rauji as Nyayadhish.[17]

These men had already held these offices for some time past. Sabhasad, while describing the coronation, refers simply to their new Sanskrit designations, but does not say that these posts were newly created. It is quite possible that Chitnis also had in his mind the introduction of Sanskrit designations when he wrote of the Raja's decision of appointing a council of eight. Both Sabhasad and Chitnis make frequent mention of the past incumbents of these offices. Sabhasad, for example, says that one Sham Rao Nilkanth was Moro Trimbak Pingle's [18] predecessor in the Peshwaship.[19] Shivaji's first Sarnobat was one Tukoji Chor Maratha.[20] He was succeeded by Mankoji Dahatonde.[21] We do not know why Tukoji lost his master's confidence, but after the conquest of Jawli, the chief command of the army was conferred on Netaji Palkar[22] as Mankoji had in the interval died. Netaji was dismissed for his failure to succour Panhala,[23] and an enterprising cavalry officer, Kadtaji Gujar, obtained the Sarnobatship with the title of Pratap Rao. Finally after Pratap Rao's heroic death in a hard-fought battle, his lieutenant Hasaji Mohite was promoted to be Commander-in-Chief.[24] It was this Hasaji or Hambir Rao, the fifth or according to another account, the sixth Sarnobat,[25] who stood with a silver jar filled with milk at the time of the ceremonial bath, during Shivaji's coronation.[26] Similarly Nilo Sondev and Gangaji Mangaji had served as Surnis and Waknis respectively, before Annaji Datto and Dattaji Trimbak.[27] It is also certain that both before and after his coronation, Shivaji held a council of these and other officers. To cite only one instance, when Afzal Khan invaded his infant kingdom, Shivaji called a council of his principal ministers, among whom figured not only Moro Pant, Gangaji Mangaji, Netaji Palkar and Raghunath Ballal, (most of them afterwards members of the Ashta Pradhan Council), but also men like Gomaji Naik, Krishnaji Naik and Subhanji Naik.[28] It does not appear, therefore, that the council was first organised at the time of the coronation. Nor can it be maintained that the Ashta Pradhan Council owed its origin to the creative genius of Shivaji. The Persian designation of such officers as the Dabir, the Surnis, the Waknis, and the Mazumdar clearly shows that analogous offices did exist under the Muhammadan governments of the south. Mention has also been made of such councils in old Hindu works on polity. In the Shukraniti, for example, we find that the chief Priest and the Chief Justice should have seats in the cabinet, and this was a special feature of Shivaji's council.[29]

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[17] Sane, Patreyadi Bagnire, p. 357. Also see Sanads and Letters edited by P. V. Mawji and D. V. Parasnis, pp. 123-24.

[18] I do not call him Moro Trimal as he is described as *Trimbak suta Moreshwar*, Moreshwar son of Trimbak, in the couplet inscribed on his seal.

[19] Sabhasad, pp. 7, 8, 11; Peshwas' Diaries, Vol. I, p. 41.

[20] Sabhasad, p. 8.

[21] *Ibid*, 9.

[22] *Idid*, 11.

[23] Shabhasad, p. 59.

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[24] *Ibid*, p. 79.

[25] J. N. Sarkar says that according to *Narsin* Shenvi Anand Rao succeeded Pratap Rao Gujar.

[26] Chitnis, p. 162.

[27] Sabhasad, p. 11. Sen, Sivachhatrapati, pp. 7-8.

[28] Sabhasad, p. 14. Sen, Sivachhatrapati, p. 11.

When the Peshwas rose to power, most of these offices had become hereditary, but in Shivaji's time, the pradhans (councillors) were not appointed for life. They were liable to be dismissed at the king's pleasure and could not transmit their office to their sons or brothers. In the Peshwa period principal officers generally became founders of new families. This was impossible in Shivaji's time. First, because he took good care to keep all offices, both high and low, free from a hereditary character. We have seen how six Commanders-in-Chief had been in succession appointed by Shivaji, but not in a single case had he selected for the post a near relative of the last incumbent. Suryaji Malsure was no doubt appointed Subhedar of the Mawali forces, after the death of his brother Tanaji; but in this case the officer in question had rendered such distinguished service as fully deserved public recognition.[30] Secondly, because Shivaji made it a rule not to assign any Jagir to any office, civil or military. It was strictly laid down that no soldier or military officer should have any thing to do with the revenue collection of the country and there was, in those days of anarchy and war, hardly any officer who was not required to take up arms. In Sabhasad's account we find that, "the balance of their dues (was paid by) 'varats' (orders) either on the Huzur (central government) or on the district (establishments). In this manner were their annual accounts punctually settled. Mokasa mahals or villages with absolute rights should on no account be granted to the (men in the) army, the militia and the garrisons of the fort. Every payment should be made by 'varats' or with cash from the treasury. None but the Karkuns had authority over the lands. All payments to the army, the militia, and the garrison, should be made by the Karkuns."[31] These wise regulations had their desired effect, and arrested for the time being the growth of feudalism in Maharashtra. In the words of Ranade, "None of

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[29] A more detailed discussion is reserved for Book III.

[30] Sabhasad, pp. 56-57. Sen, Sivachhatrapati, pp. 72-74.

[31] Sabhasad, p. 30. Sen, Sivachhatrapati, pp. 33-34.

the great men, who distinguished themselves in Shivaji's time, were able to hand over to their descendants large landed estates. Neither Moropant Pingle nor Abaji Sondev, nor Ragho Ballal or Datto Annaji or Niraji Raoji, among the Brahmans, nor the Malusares or Kanks, or Pratap Rao Gujar, Netaji Palkar, Hambirrao Mohite or the Maratha *Sardars*, were able to found ancient families such as those which Shahu's ministers in the early part of the eighteenth century succeeded in doing." [32]

Though we do not know precisely when the Ashta Pradhan Council came into being, yet we have a fairly accurate knowledge of what was expected of the pradhans. In a paper [33] already referred to, their duties have been clearly defined. From this and other state papers, it does not appear that Shivaji aimed at a bureaucratic form of government. A great Maharashtra scholar, the late Justice Ranade, has thrown clear hints that the Ashta Pradhan Council, in its essential characteristics, bore a striking resemblance to the Viceroy's Executive Council. Says the great savant, "The *Peshwa* was Prime Minister, next to the king and was at the head of both the civil and military administrations, and sat first on the right hand below the throne. The *Senapati* was in charge of the military administration, and sat first on the left side. *Amatya* and *Sachiv* sat next to the *Peshwa*, while the *Mantri* sat next below the *Sachiv* and was in charge of the king's private affairs. The *Sumant* was Foreign Secretary, and sat below the *Senapati* on the left. Next came *Panditrao*, who had charge of the ecclesiastical department, and below him on the left side sat the Chief Justice. It will be seen from these details that the *Ashta Pradhan* system has its counterpart in the present constitution of the Government of India. The Governor-General and Viceroy occupies the place of the *Peshwa*; next comes the Commander-in-Chief of the army. The Finance and Foreign Ministers come next. In the Government of India, the Executive Council makes no room for the head of the ecclesiastical department, or for the Chief Justice on one side and the Private Secretary on the other, and in their place sit the Member in Charge of the Home Department, the Legal Member, and the Public Works Minister. These variations are due to the difference of circumstances, but the conception which lies at the bottom of both systems is the same of having a council of the highest officers of the State, sitting together to assist the king in the proper discharge of his duties."[34]

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[32] Ranade, R. M. P., pp. 129-130.

[33] Sane, Patre yadi Bagaire, p. 357.

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[34] Ranade, R. M. P., pp. 126-127.

Although there seems to be some apparent resemblance between the Ashta Pradhan Council of Shivaji and the Executive Council of the Viceroy and the Governor-General of India, the principles underlying the two are by no means identical. The Government in India is widely known to be a bureaucracy. The subordinate officers are responsible to the heads of their departments and these departmental heads are mainly responsible for initiating the policy in the particular branches of administration entrusted to them. Although they can and do deliberate upon grave questions affecting departments other than theirs, there is a clear-cut division of duties. The Law Member is never called upon to lead a military expedition, nor is the Commander-in-Chief required to hear a title suit. But six out of the eight members of Shivaji's council had to perform military duties whenever necessary, and all the eight had, as occasions arose, to attend a Hazir Majalasi to hear appeals in both civil and criminal cases. The first Pandit Rao[35] had to render diplomatic service, when he was sent on an embassy to Jai Singh. This is not, however, the only difference. The Viceroy, though he can in theory override the decisions of his Executive Council, is in practice expected to be guided by it. But neither his subjects, nor his officers ever expected that Shivaji should always be guided by the wisdom of the Councillors. He was not bound to consult them, unless he felt inclined to do so. The ministers were frequently absent on distant expeditions and some of them were further encumbered with the heavy work of provincial governments. Shivaji's ministers cannot, therefore, be regarded as heads of departments and his Government was by no means a bureaucracy. It was, if anything, an autocracy. But the autocrat, fortunately for his people, was a practical statesman and acted as a "Benevolent Despot." His ministers were his servants, proud to carry out his instructions and his government had more resemblance with those of his Hindu and Muhammadan predecessors than with the British Government of to-day.

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[35] Sabhasad, p. 41. Sen, Sivachhatrapati, pp. 50-51.

5. *The Duties of the Pradhans* :

A detailed statement of the duties of the eight pradhans will further confirm the above conclusion. And nothing will serve our purpose better than the kanujabta (memorandum) drawn up in the first year of the coronation (Abhisheka) era and published by Rao Bahadur Kashinath Narayan Sane. All that is required here is to reproduce the paper in full.

SHRI.

"The Kanu Jabta of the year 1 of the coronation era the Sambatsar being Ananda by name, Tuesday, the thirteenth day of Jestha.

The Mukhya Pradhan should perform all works of administration. He should put his seal on official letters and documents. He should make expeditions with the army and wage war and make necessary arrangements for the preservation of the districts that may come into (our) possession and act according to the orders of the king. All military officers should go with him and he should proceed with them all. In this manner (should he work).

The Senapati should maintain the army and make war and expeditions. He should preserve the (newly) acquired territories, render an account of (the spoils), and act according to the orders (of the king). He should make known (to the king) what the men of the army had to say. All military officers should go with him.

The Amatya should look after the account of income and expenditure of the whole kingdom. The Daftardar and the Fadnis should be under him. He should carefully estimate the writing work (to be done). He should put his sign (or seal) on the letters from the Fadnis's and the Chitnis's office. He should (render) military service in (times of) war. He should look after the districts and be guided by (our) orders.

The Sachiv should carefully look into the royal correspondence and make (necessary) correction of the contents, whenever a letter is omitted. He should serve in war, preserve the (newly) annexed districts, and behave according to (our) orders. On royal letters (and official documents) he should put his seal as a sign of his approval.

The Pandit Rao should have jurisdiction over all religious questions. He should punish (all offences) after judging what is right and what is wrong. He should put his sign of approval on all papers relating to custom, conduct and penance. He should receive good scholars of reputation He should perform, when occasion arises, charity and shanti (performances to appease offended deities) and celebrate other religious performances.[38]

The Nayadhish should have jurisdiction over all suits in the kingdom and try them righteously after finding out what is right and what is wrong. On the judgment paper, he should put his sign of approval.

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[38] The late Justice Telang, summarised the duties of the Pandit Rao in the following manner :—"It states that the Pandit Rav's duties are to exercise all the ecclesiastical powers of the State, and to order punishment to be inflicted after investigating into what is and is not in accordance with the religious law. He is to receive learned persons on behalf of the State, and countersign all documents that may be issued from the Sovereign rotating to *Achara*, *Vyavahara*, and *Prayaschitta*, that is to say, rules of conduct, civil and criminal law, and penances, the three departments of the *Dharmashastras*. He is also to look after the performance of *Shantis* and other ceremonials, and the distribution of the royal bounty." Ranade, R. M. P., p. 261.

The Mantri should carefully conduct the political and diplomatic affairs of the kingdom. The invitation and the intelligence departments are under him. He should look after the districts and serve in war. He should put his sign of approval on official documents.

The Sumanta should have the charge of foreign affairs. He should receive and entertain ambassadors from other kingdoms when they come. He should serve in war and put his sign of approval on state documents and letters."

Besides the duties enumerated above, three of the eight pradhans were in charge of extensive provinces.[38] When they were away from the metropolis, their agents resided at the court. Sabhasad says that this apparently clumsy arrangement was made in response to the demand for good government. "The kingdom was extended on four sides. How to carry on the governance of the kingdom? Then in Moro Pant Peshwa's charge were placed the country from Kalyan and Bhivandi, including Kolawan up to Salheri, the country above the Ghats and the Konkan. Lohagad and Junnar with the twelve Mawals from the pass of Haralya (were placed) under the Peshwa. The Konkan from Chaul to Kopal, including Dabhol, Rajapur, Kudal, Bande, and Phond, was placed under Annaji Datto. The Warghat (country above the ghats) from Wai to Kopal on the Tungabhadra (was) the province placed under Dattaji Pant Waknis. Dattaji Pant was stationed at Panhala. In this manner was the kingdom placed under three Sarkarkuns. Besides these, a few (five to seven) Brahman Subhedars were stationed in the Mughal provinces. They were kept under the orders of the Peshwa. The Sarkarkuns were to enquire into the needs and welfare of the forts and strongholds. But what Killedar and Karkuns were to be appointed, the Raja himself should appoint after personal scrutiny. If the Sarkarkuns found any serviceable soldier, they should enlist him in excess of the fixed number of the quota (tainat). The agents of the Sarkarkuns should remain with the Raja. The Sarkarkuns should come to see the Raja (once) every year with the accounts and the revenue of their provinces."[37] When Shivaji made this division of his territories and placed them under three of his principal ministers, we do not know, for Sabhasad does not give any date. But that the pradhans had still some districts under their charge and had to leave their agents or mutaliks at court during their absence in their respective provinces or on a distant expedition, even after the coronation and the reorganisation of the council, can be proved by the following entry in the memorandum already quoted. "The darakhdars appointed for (the management of) districts and market cities placed under the eight pradhans, and to assist them when on a military expedition, should all work in the name of the Huzur and carry on their correspondence in the same manner (as the pradhans) when they would go on an expedition; the mutaliks appointed for them should continue all their work. They should stay at the court.[38]

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[38] Annaji Datto, for instance, is styled in a Portuguese letter as Subedar-mor or Governor General of Konkan. (Reis Visinhos, Vol. I, fol 2.).

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[37] Sabhasad, pp. 77-78. Sen, Sivachhatrapati, pp. 106-107.

Before we take leave of the eight pradhans it should be noted here that they could not select their own subordinates. These were invariably appointed, as in the Peshwa period, by the supreme head of the state. Even the mutaliks, who were apparently expected to act on behalf and in the interests of an absent minister, were not appointed by him, but by the king. We do not know whether on such occasions the approval of the officer affected was sought or not. This practice was evidently borrowed from the Muhammadans. The Muhammadan rulers of Delhi required the provincial governors and generals on active service to leave their agents or wakils at the imperial court during their absence on duty. These agents acted in the same manner as the mutaliks of Shivaji's pradhans, but they generally considered it their first duty to safeguard the interests of their immediate masters.

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[38] Sane, P. Y. B. p. 359. The Portuguese letter, already mentioned in a previous note also proves that the Sachiv held the office of Governor General of Konkan in January, 1678 when the letter was written.

The number of councillors was by no means fixed. From Sabhasad's list already quoted, it appears that there were nine of them at the time of Shivaji's coronation as the Amatya's office was jointly held by two brothers, Naro and Ramchandra. Sambhaji dismissed, decapitated and imprisoned many of his father's old servants. Sambhaji had a council in name only, he ruled as he liked, and did not care to consult any one except his notorious favourite Kavi Kalush or Kavji, a Kanojia Brahman. He has been styled as Chhandogyamatya in contemporary papers The Pandit Rao in Shivaj's time was entitled to the additional designation of Chhandogyamatya. It has been suggested that Kavi Kalush was not Sambhaji's Pandit Rao.[39] Kalush enjoyed so much influence and so much power that he was for all practical purposes the prime minister of Sambhaji. When the Rajmandal was revived under Rajaram, a new member was added, who superseded all others both in status and in pay. Pralhad Niraji was appointed Pratinidhi or the king's vicegerent at Jinji during the struggle for national existence.[40] Henceforth the Pratinidhi always held the first seat in the council, until the rise of the Peshwas revolutionised the constitution of the Maratha empire.

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[39] Bharat Itihas Sanshodhak Mandal—Varshik Itivritta (1837), III-13.

[40] The Ashta Pradhan Council was certainly not a cabinet as a detailed examination of its constitution (in the text) shows. Prof. Sarkar, however, seems to hold a different view when he writes

6. *Secretaries*:

Outside the council but in no way inferior to the eight ministers was the Chitnis or Secretary. Just below the pradhans had stood Bal Prabhu Chitnis, and Nil Prabhu Parasnis,[40] at the time of Shivaji's coronation. The Private Secretary of an autocratic king naturally enjoys great influence and is a power behind the throne. Balaji

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" Pralhad Niraji, on whom the high title of Regent (Pratinidhi) was conferred and who thus stood *outside and above the cabinet* of eight ministers (Ashta Pradhan)" (History of Aurangzib, Vol V, p. 26). The opinion of so distinguished a scholar certainly deserves more than a passing notice, but we have been spared the task of refuting him, as he seems to have reconsidered the question and changed his view when he writes at another place, "To provide posts for all his most influential servants, the normal *council* of eight ministers was expanded by *adding two more men*. The *Hakumat Panah* and the *Pratinidhi*." (History of Aurangzib, Vol. V, p. 195). Thus he admits that it was a council and the number of councillors was by no means rigidly fixed.

[40] Sabhasad, p. 84; Chitnis, p. 162. Sen, Sivachhatrapati, p. 117.

Avji, Shivaji's chitnis was a man of exceptional ability. Not only did he perform the ordinary duties of his office, but he had been further entrusted with the exceedingly delicate task of taking down the behests of the great goddess Bhavani communicated through Shivaji's mouth.[41] It is said that Shivaji had actually offered him a seat in the council, but the modesty of the great Prabhu statesman stood in his way.[42] The duties of his office are thus enumerated by Malhar Ram Rao Chitnis. "The Chitnis Patralekhak will write all royal letters and diplomatic correspondence. Divining what is in the king's heart he should at once cleverly put it into writing discussing the various aspects of the case. He should write in such a manner that what is generally accomplished by war and great exertion, should be achieved by means of letters only. He should write answers to the letters that may come."[43] In the memorandum published by Rao Bahadur Sane we come across the following entry under Chitnis: "He should write all official letters and papers of the State. He should write answers to diplomatic letters.

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[41] Sabhasad, Chitnis, Chitragupta and all old chroniclers tell us that whenever Shivaji had to face any exceptional difficulty, the goddess Bhavani used to take possession of his body and tell him what he should do. As the king lay unconscious all the time, the behest of the deity was taken down by Balaji Avji. See also History of the Maratha People by Kincaid and Parasnis.

[42] Chitnis, p. 170.

[43] Chitnis, p. 168.

Sanads, deeds of grant and other orders to be issued (to the officers in the districts) should be written according to the regulations framed for the Fadnis's papers. On hand notes and letters of special importance there should be a seal or the king's signature only, and no seal of the other officers. The Chitnis alone should put his sign."[44] Such were the duties that the Chitnis had to perform.

Although in the above regulations the Chitnis is required to write all correspondence and draw up all state documents, in practice he was to a considerable extent relieved by others. Chitragupta tells us that the Fadnis alone and no other official could issue deeds of royal grant. All letters to the provincial and district officers were written by the Chitnis, while answers to the letters from commanders of forts had to be written by an officer called Gadnis. Letters to foreign courts were sent from the Dabir's office, and the Parasnis had to carry on all correspondence with the Emperor of Delhi, his wajir and Muhammadan potentates.[45]

Chitragupta was not a contemporary of Shivaji. Mr. V. K. Rajwade has described his work as a mere elaboration of Sabhasad's chronicle. We do not get a complete list of the Chitnis's official duties in Chitragupta. This want,[45a] however, has fortunately been removed by a jabta of the first year of the coronation era. In that document the Fadnis also has been mentioned with the Chitnis in their official relation. A subordinate secretariat officer of no great importance in Shivaji's time, the Fadnis rose to great power and authority during the Peshwa regime. The Potnis was responsible for the account of income and expenditure of the metropolitan treasury, while the Potdar was only an assay officer. The eight pradhans had under them, besides their staff, the officers in charge of the eighteen *karkhanas* and twelve *mahals*. What precisely their duties were we do not know. The eighteen *karkhanas* and the twelve *mahals* were as follows :[46]

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[44] Sane, P. Y. B, p. 358.

[45] Chitragupta Bakhar (in the Kavyetihas Sangraha), pp. 104-106.

The Eighteen Karkhanas :[47]

1.	Khajina	...	Cash
2.	Jawahirkhana	...	Jewel store
3.	Ambar Khana	...	Granary
4.	Sharbat Khana	...	Medicines
5.	Toph Khana	...	Artillery
6.	Daftar Khana	...	Record Department

[45a] For the jabta see Appendix.

[46] The eighteen Karkhanas are referred to in the *Peshwanchi Bakher* (p. 80) but the names given by Rao Bahadur Sane in the footnote are somewhat different.

[47] It should be noted that Chitnis's division of these departments is not exactly similar ; for instance Jamdar Khana is placed by him under the heading mahal. For his list see Chitnis, pp 75-76 and Appendix B

7.	Jamdar Khana	... Public treasury containing all sorts of things.[48]
8.	Jirat Khana	... Corn Depot, according to Molesworth, Armoury, according to R. V. Kosh.
9.	Mutbak Khana	... Kitchen
10.	Ushtar Khana	... Camels and their trappings.
11.	Nagar Khana	... Band
12.	Talim Khana	... Gymnasium[49]
13.	Pil Khana	... Elephant shades, etc.
14.	Faras Khana	... Carpets, tents and accessories.
15.	Abdar Khana	... Drink
16.	Shikar Khana	... Game, aviary, chase and allied materials.

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[48] Jamdar Khana was Vassnagar or royal wardrobe according to the *Raj Vyavahar Kosh*, p. 6.

[49] Prof. Sarkar translates *talimkhana* as school (Mughal Administration, 2nd edition, p 104), and adds that in Firuz. Shah's time it was called *ilmkhana*. I have, however, relied on the *Raj Vyavahar Kosh*. Raghunath Pandit, the Lexicographer, had a first-hand knowledge of these *Karkhanas* and he translated *talimkhana* as *mallashala* (p. 13) and the word is mentioned under the heading *Shastra Vargah*. The Marathi historian, referred to by Prof. Sarkar, is therefore perfectly right when he calls it a wrestling school. The Marathas did not blindly copy the Muslim institutions, through Shivaji was quite willing to borrow good institutions from all his neighbours For instance Shivaji's *daru-khana* had no Muhammadan prototype (Sarkar, Mughal Administration, p 193) but the word is a literal translation of the Portuguese word *casa de polbora*, and Shivaji knew that he was not bringing a new thing into existence when in addition to *Topkhana* he decided to have a *darukhana* as well.

17.	Daru Khana	... Magazine
18.	Shahat Khana	... Conservancy Department.

The Twelve Mahals:

1.	Pote	... Treasury
2.	Saudagir	... Merchandise
3.	Palkhi	... Palanquins
4.	Kothi	... Warehouse and granaries.
5.	Imarat	... Building
6.	Bahili	... Chariots
7.	Paga	... Stables
8.	Seri	... Comforts
9.	Daruni	... The Zenana
10.	Thatti	... Cowsheds
11.	Tanksal	... Mints
12.	Sabina	... Guards[30]

It is clear from the name of the departments that most of these officers were concerned more with the king's household than with any work of imperial or public interest. A few of them, on the other hand, like those in charge of the artillery, the mint, and the public treasury, fall under a different category. Shivaji's division of his government and household affairs into eighteen karkhanas and twelve mahals was, therefore, not a scientific one. But we cannot expect from a man surrounded on all sides by enemies, and ever engaged in a war of defence as well as of conquest, a scientific division of departments on modern lines. He had evidently copied from the existing system and found little leisure in his eventful career to improve upon it.

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[30] Sabhasad, pp. 94-95.

In his departmental duties each of the eight pradhans was assisted by a staff of eight clerks. They were :

1. The Dewan.
2. The Mazumdar or Auditor and Accountant.
3. The Fadnis or Deputy Auditor.
4. The Sabnis or the Daftardar.
5. The Karkhanis or Commissary.
6. The Chitnis or Correspondence Clerk.
7. The Jamdar or Treasurer.
8. The Potnis or Cash-Keeper.[31]

7. *The King :*

The king formed the great pivot on which rested this stupendous structure. His was the hand that worked this gigantic but by no means easy machine. Not only the officers in charge of the eighteen karkhanas and the twelve mahals, not only secretariat officers as the Fadnis, Sabnis and Potnis, but also their official superiors, the eight pradhans and the Chitnis, formed a vast array of clerks and military

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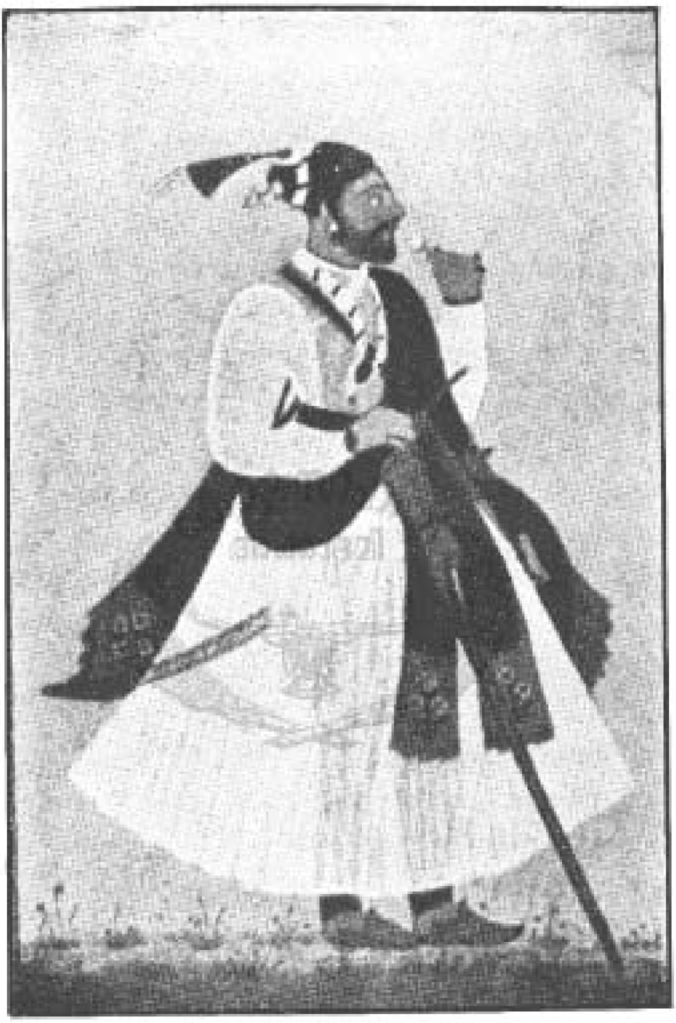
[31] Grant Duff. Vol. I, p. 191.



Sambhaji

commanders to carry out the orders of the king and to execute his great designs. They were but so many machines, not inanimate it is true, not unconscious of the great part they were playing, but at the same time hardly having any independent existence. Even the Pandit Rao, the officer in charge of the ecclesiastical branch of the administration, whose Brahman birth and learning might have given him some advantage over his non-Brahman master, could hardly take any step without the cognisance and sanction of the king. Even Kalush, the all-powerful minister of Sambhaji, deemed it necessary to consult the king's pleasure before he could authorise the re-admission of a repentant renegade into his former caste after the necessary penance.[53] Everything depended on the personal ability and qualities of the sovereign. There was nothing to check him except his own good sense and of course the constant fear of a formidable Muhammadan invasion. It was for this reason alone that Sambhaji found it so easy to subvert his father's system, the day after his accession to the throne. It is this very reason again that impelled Rajaram, while sorely pressed by the victorious imperial army, to revive some of the old institutions his father had found so useful.

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[53] Rajwade, M. I.S., Vol. VIII, p. 36.

For a further treatment of the subject, the reader is referred to Book II.

The system required a strong and good ruler. After Shahu, there was none among Shivaji's descendants who possessed the requisite qualities, and that is why the Peshwas found it so easy to do away with the central government. The eight pradhans still continued, but the hereditary councillors found themselves in an anomalous situation. They enjoyed great fiefs, but were never in practice called upon to perform their civil duties. The Peshwa, in theory their equal, became in reality their superior. The king, their master, was a state prisoner. The Peshwa's Fadnis, originally an officer of no importance, gradually rose to very great power, and the central government was transferred from Satara to Poona. But through all these changes and revolutions, both bloody and bloodless, the village communities survived unaffected, and the Peshwas also found it convenient to continue the provincial governments as they existed in Shivaji's time.

APPENDIX A.

A memorandum (enumerating) the writing duties of the Chitnis of Kshatriya Kulavatansa Shri Raja Shivachhatrapati, dated the first of Jeshtha of the year 1 of the coronation era, the Sambatsar being Ananda by name.

Of the letters and grant deeds to be issued when a new *inam* is granted to any one :

Letters to the grantee	should be written by the Fadnis.
Do to the Mokdams	
Letters to the Talukdars	should be written by the Chitnis.
Do to the Subha and Mamla officers, present and future.	
Do to the Deshmukh, the Deshpande and the Zamindars	

Of the letters to be issued when a village in mokasa, or land as a stipend, is granted to any one :

Letters to the Mokdams	should be written by the Fadnis.
Do to the Talukdars	
Do to the Kamavisdars	should be written by the Chitnis.
Do to the Zamindars	

Excepting the above, all letters of grant to any one should be written by the Chitnis. All answers, orders and diplomatic letters should be written by the Chitnis. The Chitnis should also write reminders or notes about :

1. Saranjams
2. Sanads relating to lands
3. Professional rights
4. Inams
5. Assignments (Varats).

The rules about the Chitnis's duties and a memorandum about them all, including those relating to customs duties :

All *kauls* to be issued about lands to villages and provinces should be written by the Chitnis.

The Fadnis should write the kauls or agreements about the contribution fixed (by the proper authorities) to be levied (in a foreign country). Of the sanads of new officers, Kamavis, etc., those addressed to the officer should be written by the Fadnis, those addressed to the Zamindars and others should be written by the Chitnis. All notes to be issued about Ghasdana with notes about Fadfarmas should be written by the Chitnis.

Letters for sending cash advance and presents for marriage ceremonies (in the Raja's house) should be written by the Chitnis. Of these, if the Chitnis has written letters about sanads for recovery of the sum advanced from the Mahals, the Fadnis should mention in his letters that the said sanad has been recorded. If the balance of revenue, considered unrecoverable, has been realised, letters regarding it should be addressed by the Chitnis, and the remittance transfer of the shortage should be granted by the Fadnis. All notes of remission (with regard to the following) should be written by the Chitnis :

1. Land (revenue).
2. When a remission of the due (balance) is granted.
3. When revenue is (conditionally) remitted for failure of crops and the revenue is to be realised after inspection.

All letters of (warning) about any right to and possession of old inams, watans, and varshasans that may be in force in home dominions and foreign territories, should be written by the Chitnis, enumerating the villages and the names of the parties (interested).

When an old watan is confirmed after a due enquiry about its (proprietorship), all letters, whether addressed to the watandar or Jilhedars and Subhedars, should be written by the Chitnis. Space should be left for any *harki* or *sherni* that may have been promised. These gaps should be filled up by the Fadnis with his own hands, stating the amount.

If a new watan or inam is granted to any one, the letter addressed to the grantee should be written by the Fadnis stating the sum (of rupees) taken. All other letters (in this connection) should be written by the Chitnis.

When a *Prayashchitta* is prescribed, or a man is to be (re) admitted into his caste, orders to the Joshis and letters to the Upadhyes and Brahmans or Shudras, or to any body else, should be written by the Chitnis. Harki and shela should be taken by the government for the Prayashchitta. The Fadnis should make an entry that so much has been realised (specifying the sum). All letters, if the transaction is to be made without any stipulation about money, should be the Chitnis's business; the Fadnis will have nothing to do with them.

If parties after quarrelling with each other, come for a decision to the court, all letters according to the decision (of the court) about the harki to be paid by the winning and *gunhegari* to be paid by the losing party, should be written by the Chitnis. The total of harki and gunhegari should be stated by the Fadnis.

Letters about contribution, fines, harkis and incomes (arising from) adultery cases, should be written by the Chitnis.

If an assignment or *varat* is made in any one's favour and there is any delay in making it good, the Chitnis should write reminders, (requesting) the officers (concerned) to pay the money in accordance with the terms of the assignment. If an assignment is made of one hundred Rupees and there is a shortage of money in the Mahal (concerned), and a fresh assignment of fifty Rupees out of the entire sum has to be made, it will be done by the Fadnis. If an assignment of one hundred Rupees is once made, and if it is returned, and a fresh grant has to be made, the document is to be drawn up by the Chitnis. If any correction is to be made about the sum, (literally if the sum is either more or less), the letters will be written by the Fadnis.

All passports for travelling and permission for establishing ware-houses should be written by the Chitnis. Summons should be written by the Chitnis. Memoranda enumerating regulations for watani Mahals, ports, and forts, etc., should be written by the Chitnis.

Letters about ammunition and clothes to be sent each year to forts, strongholds or military outposts, or to be brought to the head quarters from those places, should be written by the Chitnis. If any objection is to be raised about these works, it is to be done by the Fadnis.

The Chitnis is to open envelopes and read (to the king) the letters that may come, and to enclose and despatch letters.

The memorandum of rules for regulating the price of things should be drawn up by the Chitnis.

If officers are sent from the head quarters to a village or a warehouse or a Pargana, all letters to the District officer should be written by the Chitnis.

All orders of confiscation of property and restoration of property to its owner, should be written by the Chitnis.

Letters for conferring (the command of) forts, and strongholds, etc., for setting a boundary, for imprisoning or releasing any one, should be written by the Chitnis.

Letters of political intelligence should be written by the Chitnis.

All letters in which royal signature is to be inserted, handnotes, and documents with seals, should be written by the Chitnis. All letters about the appointment to the command of forts and strongholds, grants of saramjam, inam, or watans, or communication about any assignment accompanied by the customary clothes of honour, should be written by the Chitnis, as well as letters specifying contribution, fine, harki or subscription and nazar (to be paid by the addressee). He should also frame a list of these and send it to the Daftar. The officers there will accordingly make their accounts of income and expenditure. Closed letters and handnotes should be written by the Chitnis, no one but the Chitnis should put his sign in the handnotes.

Kauls for settling (new inhabitants in any place) and interim kauls or assurance deeds should be drawn by the Chitnis.

Letters for attaching or conferring a house or homestead, fuels, or rice lands, should be written by the Chitnis.[1]

Besides the duties enumerated above, the Chitnis was in charge of the Abdar khana and Saraf khana also.[2]

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[1] **Sanads and Letters edited by Mawji and Parasnis, pp. 127-130.**

[2] ***Ibid*, p. 125.**

കേരള സാഹിത്യ അക്കാദമി

APPENDIX B.

A List of Karkhanas compiled from the Raj Vyavahar Kosh.

KHAJINA.—Treasury, where the cash is kept, the officer in charge is the Jamdar or the *Kosharakshaka* (treasurer). The second officer is styled as *Koshapala* or Havaldar.

POTE.—Treasury wherefrom payment is made. The chief officer is Havaldar. The second officer is Jamdar, an accountant and the Potdar or assay master were also attached to this department.

JAWAHIRKHANA.—Jewel store; the officer in charge, Havaldar, his assistant Jamdar, and a jewel expert styled *johari* were employed by this department.

JAR KHANA—or Gold store, but no officer is mentioned, probably it was a sub-department of jawahir khana.

JAMDAR KHANA.—Wardrobe, chief officer, Havaldar; his assistant Jamdar; a *Vastra Lekhaka* or clerk for keeping account of the department is mentioned.

MUDBAKH KHANA.—Kitchen, the Mudbakhi or cook and taster, *Ruchigraha*, are mentioned in this connection.

ABDAR KHANA.—Jalasthana—literally water department, not only drinks but intoxicants like tobacco and opium on the one hand, and musk, otto, essence of flowers and scented oils on the other, are mentioned under this department.

SHARAB KHANA.—Wine store, the officer in charge was the Sharabdar, *tambul* or betel leaf and its accessories are mentioned in this connection.

DAWA KHANA.—Dispensary.

SHIKAR KHANA.—Aviary.

FARAS KHANA.—The department of carpets, tents etc. The officer in charge was styled Havaldar.

JIRAT KHANA.—Armoury—The chief officer—Havaldar, the second officer Havalgir and a clerk for keeping accounts of the departments. No separate Toph Khana or Daru Khana is mentioned; but in the list of arms and armours, given in connection with this department *toph* (artillery) and *daru* (gun powder) are mentioned

TALIM KHANA.—Gymnasium.

PHIL KHANA.—Elephant stables, Mahavats or elephant drivers, elephant trainers and elephant keepers are mentioned under this department.

PAGA.—Stables.

BAHILI.—Chariots, it is styled a mahal.

SHUTARKHANA.—Camel stables.

ALAM KHANA.—Band and music.

AMBAR KHANA.—Grannary. This department is mentioned under *durgavargah* or forts and herein probably lies the distinction between *Kothi* and *Ambar Khana*.

IMARATI.—Buildings—this department is also mentioned under the forts.

DAFTAR KHANA.—Secretariat or records department. The chief officer is called Daftardar.

KOTHI.—Grannary. This is styled a *mahal* and comes under *Janpadavargah* or the provinces. As rent was paid in kind, it was necessary for the revenue collectors in the provinces to have *Kothis* or store houses for grains. The officer in charge of Kothi is styled *Havaldar*. He was assisted by the accountant (Dhanyalekhaka) and another subordinate styled Kothival who probably measured grains.

Chitnis's list of Mahals and Karkhanas :

1. *Mahals*

1. Daruni—Zenana
2. Pote—Stores
3. Kothi—Grannary
4. Paga—Stables
5. Thati—Cowsheds
6. Sheribag—Comforts
7. Tankshala—Mint
8. Palanquins etc.
9. Imarat—Buildings
10. Saudagiri—Merchandise

11. Chaubina—Guards
12. Jamdarkhana—Wardrobe

The Karkhanas.

1. Pil khana—Elephant stables
2. Ambar khana—Grannary
3. Nagar khana—Band
4. Toph khana—Artillery
5. Sharbat khana—Medicines
6. Abdar khana—Drinks
7. Shutar khana—Camels stables
8. Faras khana—Tents
9. Shikar khana—Shields
10. Talim khana—Gymnasium
11. Jawahirkhana—Jewel store
12. Mudbakh khana—Kitchen
13. Shile khana—Armoury
14. Sharab khana—Betel leaves etc.
15. Gadi khana—Conveyance
16. Jinnas khana—Stores
17. Daftar khana—Secretariat
18. Nat khana—Music etc.

Chitnis says that Shivaji had about three hundred (300 to 350) elephants, about one thousand (1000 to 1500) camels, from two to four thousand cows and five thousand buffaloes. A glance at the lists given above will show that the Maratha Karkhanas and Mahals were really speaking state departments and establishments and not state owned or state controlled factories.

CHAPTER II

REVENUE AND FINANCE

Ranade was not the only scholar to point out that "Like the first Napoleon, Shivaji in his time was a great organiser, and a builder of civil institutions."[1] Scott-Waring, writing in the first decade of the 19th century, observes "while Sevajee carried on his predatory warfare, he was not inattentive to the growing interests of his state. The lands in the Kokun were secured and defended."[2] That was not all. The lands were secured and defended and suitable measures were taken for the extension of cultivation and improvement of agriculture. Jervis tells us that according to the popular traditions, Shivaji's subjects enjoyed plenty though not peace. "In the midst of all this confusion, warfare, and general disloyalty, the state of the revenue and population is said to have prospered."[3] The reason is not hard to find out; Shivaji introduced a flexible system that long survived his dynasty's overthrow, and as Mr. Pringle Kennedy says

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[1] Ranade, R. M. P., p. 115.

[2] Scott-Waring, History of the Mahrattas, p. 96.

[3] Jervis, p. 93.

"The peasant knew what he had to pay and he seems to have been able to pay this without any great oppression."[4]

It is certainly creditable to the great Maratha soldier that his subjects, inspite of his constant wars, should have enjoyed plenty and increased in number. But all that Shivaji had to do was to follow in the foot-steps of another great man. It is true that Shivaji cannot claim originality. But originality is not an indispensable factor in statesmanship. All that is expected of a practical statesman is that he should discern the needs of his time and adopt suitable measures to meet them. Whether these measures are his own or not does not matter. Akbar, one of the greatest of Indian rulers, frequently revived the long forgotten measures of some of his less known predecessors and with what effect is known to us all. Shivaji also had the keen discernment of a statesman and he could appreciate the good points, as he was fully aware of the defects of the existing government. He found that Malik Ambar's revenue system, with a few slight modifications, would suit his country best and he revived it without any hesitation.[5] What Todar Mall did for the north, Malik Ambar did for the south.

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[4] Kennedy, History of the Great Moghuls, Vol. II, p. 125.

[5] Bombay Gazetteer, Poona Volume.

The great foreigner, who had served his adopted country so well, had to work almost under the same circumstances as Shivaji. While defending his master's tottering kingdom against the Mughal onslaughts, the great Abyssinian had to recognise its exhausted resources. He worked with an open mind and adopted the revenue system of his enemies. On the eve of its fall the Nizamshahi kingdom enjoyed a set of excellent regulations, but there was no one after Malik Ambar to work them out. Like Todar Mall he divided the arable lands into four separate classes according to fertility and ascertained their produce, roughly it is true, and fixed the assessment once for all. He, however, did not want the peasants to pay in kind. While a fixed permanent assessment was made, a commutation or money price was also fixed for ever. After fixing a money rent Malik Ambar turned his attention to the collecting agency. With one stroke of his pen he did away with the intermediate revenue agency which had been gradually assuming the character of a farming system. He then made the Patils and other revenue officers hereditary, but at the same time made them responsible for the full realisation of the government dues.[6] Such in short was Malik Ambar's revenue system and as some of

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[6] See Bombay Gazetteer, Poona Volume and Jervis, pp. 66-68.

Shahaji's jagirs had previously formed part of the Nizamshahi dominions, the people there were not unfamiliar with it. Nor was there any lack of officials who had seen it in its actual working. Dadaji Konddev, when he reclaimed the waste lands of his master's jagir, did nothing but revive the wise regulations of the great Abyssinian.[7]

But Shivaji was no blind imitator. He was, if anything, a lover of strict method; and Malik Ambar's system, in certain respects, lacked it. While therefore, accepting its principles, Shivaji did not commit himself to all its details. Malik Ambar had not carefully surveyed the land, and the survey work was fraught with many difficulties, more or less serious. There were different standards and units of measurement and Shivaji had to find out a standard unit before he could order a systematic survey.[8] Then again accurate measurement was impossible with a rope. The length of a rope was liable to slight variations in different seasons. So the measuring rope had to be rejected. Some Muhammadan rulers had substituted the rope by the '*tenab*' or measuring chain. But Shivaji replaced it by a *kathi* or a measuring rod.[9] The kathi was to be five cubits and five fists (*muthis*) in length. The length of the regulation rod was fixed in *tasus* also. Twenty rods square made a *bigha*, and one hundred and twenty bighas a *chavar*. The unit of measurement being thus fixed, Shivaji ordered a survey settlement and the work of surveying the Konkan was[10] entrusted to no less able an officer than the celebrated Annaji Datto, Shivaji's Sachiv.

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[7] Bombay Gazetteer,—Poona Volume.

[8] Jervis enumerates the following —The gocharma or oxbide of land, the turub or plough land, secondly the khundee of land, the moora, the mun, the karika and so forth, that is lands requiring a khundee, moora, mun, karika and so forth of seed to sow them by which rule the produce was estimated and the government share fixed. Jervis, pp. 26-27.

2. *Annaji's Survey :*

It can be safely asserted that the survey work was done with the utmost care. Annaji Datto refused to rely on irresponsible government officials, whose lack of local knowledge and necessary energy disqualified them for the work. He issued a circular letter to village officers urging them to undertake this important work with the co-operation of some of their co-villagers, whose interests were directly involved. A copy of this old circular[11] letter has come down to us, and has been deciphered and published by Mr. V. K. Rajwade. As this is the only document that tells us how the bighaoni survey of the Konkan was conducted by Annaji, it is a pity that this important paper has not escaped mutilation, and the sad ravages of time have made it impossible for Mr. Rajwade to decipher all the words. Many gaps have yet to be filled up mainly by conjecture. But it appears from what has been read, that the estimate of these village officers was not accepted without a proper examination. Annaji Datto himself revised their work. In every district, he visited at least one village of each description, estimated its yield, and then compared his own figure with that submitted by the village officers. It was the interest of these villagers not to over-estimate the possible revenue; consequently, the king alone was the only losing party if any error in these estimates remained undetected. This circular letter was issued in 1678, only two years before Shivaji's death. It is, therefore, clear that this survey settlement could not be finished in his life time and had, in all probability, commenced late in his reign.

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[9] See Sabhasad, p. 32. Sen, Sivachhatrapati, p. 36.

[10] Whether a map was also prepared we do not know. Everything depends on the interpretation of *dhurang jhad* (Sabhasad, p. 32). The word is unintelligible and Rao Bhahadur Sane gives *durang jod* as an alternative reading. If we accept this second reading the sentence may mean that a bicolour map was drawn. But in those days paper was so scarce that it does not seem possible. I have no knowledge of any map or chart of Shivaji's time coming down to us. For a sensible suggestion about the meaning of the passage see *Vividha Dnanvistar*, p. 69 (1921).

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[11] V. K. Rajwade. M. I. S. Vol. XV, pp. 368-370. For an English translation of this letter see Appendix, C. pp. 119-122.

It may be noted in this connection that Annaji was by no means the only officer charged with the work of survey settlement. Mention is made of similar work being done with regard to Shirval by Moro Pingle, the Peshwa. See Rajwade, M. I. P., Vol. XX, pp. 94-96.

3. Cesses and Abwabs :

In those days people had to make numerous contributions to the state, to the village communities, and even to those criminal tribes whose protection or neutrality the commercial and agricultural classes considered necessary to purchase. An ordinary peasant, for instance, had to pay his share of the land revenue to the state, at the harvest time he had to give a certain measure of grains to the village officers including the artisans, and when he brought the green vegetables of his garden for sale at the market place, the Patil and the Kulkarni (the village headman and the village scribe) took a handful in pursuance of a very old practice. To appreciate properly the revenue reforms of Shivaji, it is essential to have a clear idea of the taxes and cesses that a peasant or an artisan had to pay. Elphinstone has given us a list of taxes and cesses that prevailed in the Peshwa period but unfortunately no such list is available for the preceding period. This deficiency can however be made up by a careful scrutiny of the Sanads or grant deeds published in Mr. V. K. Rajwade's *Marathyanchya Itihasanchi Sadhanen*, Mawji and Parasnis's *Sanads and Letters* and the

Transactions of the Bharat Itihas Sanshodhak Mandal of Poona. These papers mention no less than fifty taxes, cesses and abwabs (extra duties), a formidable list indeed. But it should be remembered that some of these taxes were levied probably once in a life time, others were collected on special occasions, while some of them were undoubtedly confined to a particular locality. About their nature and incidence the Sanads hardly enlighten us. They simply enumerate all customary cesses, taxes and obligations from which the grantee is exempted. It is clear that all the taxes mentioned below were not exacted by the state, nor did they all prevail in the same revenue area and never was the same man in any locality subjected to all the taxes, cesses and other financial obligations of his native Pargana.

1. *Beth Begari*—Forced labour.
2. *Farmasi*—"Fruit, vegetables, etc., furnished on occasions to Rajas and public officers, on the authority of their order upon the villages; any petty article or trifling work exacted from the ryots by Government or a public officer."—Molesworth.[12]

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[12] This tax is mentioned in a document dated 1675. See M. I. S., Vol. XV, p. 173 It therefore seems probable that all these cesses were not abolished and the state demands consolidated as Jervis asserts.

"An occasional contribution in kind; often paid in commutation of service." Elphinstone.

3. *Belekati*—A tax exacted on the commencement of the harvest. (Balkati, cutting ears of corn) Thomas, *Revenue Resources of the Moghal Empire*, p. 19.
4. *Paiposi*—Cannot be positively identified; probably a tax paid in kind by the shoemakers. The shoe-makers claimed the special right of paying their dues in kind.[13]
5. *Mejbani*—literally dinner tax.[14]
6. *Mohimpati*—Expedition cess; a similar tax is mentioned by Kautilya, but we need not go to such a remote age, a tax like this was levied by the Portuguese in their Indian Estate.
7. *Karchapati*—Cannot be identified.
8. *Telpati*—Oil cess; perhaps levied for illumination on festive occasions.
9. *Tup*—A tax in kind levied perhaps on manufacturers of *ghi*.
10. *Faski*—A toll levied on green vegetable-sellers.
11. *Sadilvar*—A comprehensive term for any contingent charge.

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[13] Rajwade, M. I. S. Vol. XX, p. 12.

[14] It is not, however, clear who paid the cess and on what occasion.

12. *Tutpati*—Literally means a tax to cover losses. It might be similar to 'Kasar' charged from Khots in Janjira to cover the loss in any deficiency of measurement. Prof. Pissurlencar thinks that it was similar to *but patti* of Portuguese India.

13. *Idsubrati*—Jervis thinks it was a tax in kind paid by oilmen for illumination on the occasion of Id.

14. *Toranbheti*—Arches for receiving distinguished guests.

15. *Ut*—A cess levied on transport camels.

16. *Ambe*—A tax levied on the produce of mango trees.

17. *Karujati*—Cannot be identified. Has it any relation to Karus, artisans ?

18. *Hejib*—Probably means the perquisites of an insignificant village officer of the same name. Hejib is mentioned in an old document published in the *Itihas Sangraha, Aitihasik Charitren*, pp. 22-23.

19. *Pathevari*—The meaning is uncertain ; is it Patwari, a tax levied for village officers?

20. *Ashvajakati*—A duty on sale of horse. This tax is mentioned by many Portuguese authors including Barros.

21. *Setsara*—A tax on arable land.

22. *Barhad Taka*[15]—Probably similar to *bharad* tax of Portuguese India.
23. *Sel Bail*—A duty on transport cattle.
24. *Jangampati*—A jangam is a lingayat. A tax on the Jangams or Saiva lingayats; see Book III.
25. *Peshkasi*—Same as the Paishkush of the Mughal period.
26. *Patisike Humayun*—Sike means a seal. This tax must be analogous to Batchhapai of the Peshwa period.
27. *Kar-i-Humayuni*—A tax levied for celebrating the royal birth day.
28. *Thanebhet*—In Portuguese India the villagers had to feed small bands of sepoys visiting the locality. Probably a similar obligation existed in some parts of Shivaji's kingdom.
29. *Dasrapati*—Is it a cess levied on the occasion of Dasra? We know that under the Peshwa regime the Patil received some presents in kind, *e.g.*, a goat on the Dasra day. Sleeman noticed a somewhat similar practice in Central India. "In the first place, they (Thanadars) levy a fee of one rupee from every village at the festival

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[15] Taka literally means an aggregate of sixteen Shivarai pice: also an aggregate of four pice, an anna.—Molesworth. Barhadghar—The house in which a wedding is celebrated, Molesworth. Is it a tax or cess on nuptials and analogous to Lagan pati?

of the Holi in February, another at that of the Dasehra in October," *Rambles and Recollections*, Vol. II, p. 217. The Ramoshi, Sarnaik also was entitled to the present of a goat from the neighbouring villages on the Dasra day. See Mackintosh, *Origin and present condition of the Tribe of Ramoossies*, p. 58.

30. *Huzur Bhet*
31. *Halpati*
32. *Ahisthan*
33. *Virahisthan*

—Cannot be identified.

34. *Mohatarfa*—A tax on shop-keepers. Many cesses fall under this general heading.
35. *Thaljakati*—Custom duties levied on goods while in transit through land.
36. *Palbhara*—May be a tax on green vegetables.
37. *Ulphapati*[16]—A religious cess.
38. *Bakrid*[17]—Cannot be identified.
39. *Sardesmukhpati*—Same as Sardeshmukhi

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[16] Ulpha literally means unhusked grain given in alms to mendicants. It seems therefore probable that the cess was levied for charitable purposes.

[17] May be one of the numerous cesses levied for the expense of popular festivals, either Hindu or Muhammadan.

40. *Mashahira*—Same as Rasad of the Mughal Rulers.
41. *Gaonkhandi*—Cannot be identified.
42. *Dani*—A tax in grain.
43. *Teji Bheti*—Cannot be identified.
44. *Jhadjhadoda*—A cess in kind levied on the fruits of village trees, generally collected at the rate of one per hundred mangoes or tamarinds.
45. *Bargujar*—"Tax on the fields near the city where Paun is cultivated." Jenkins, *Report on the Territories of Rajah of Nagpore*, p. 228.
46. *Inampati*—An occasional tax imposed in times of exigency on Inamdars.
47. *Akhduldivani*—Cannot be ascertained.
48. *Kar Imarati*—A tax to meet building expenses.
49. *Vihir huda*—An extra tax on lands watered from wells.

Mention is made of another abwab, *Sinhasanpati* or coronation tax, levied on the watandars at the time of Shivaji's coronation.[18] Most of these taxes do not appear in Elphinstone's list and had been abolished in the interval.

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[18] Rajwade, M.I.S. Vol XVI.p. 12.

4. *Principle of Assessment:*

Annaji Datto had fixed the rent at 33% p. c. of the gross produce, but Shivaji afterwards demanded a consolidated rent of 40% p. c.[19] when all the taxes and extra cesses had been abolished.[20] Neither *tagai* nor the *istawa* principle was unknown in his time. "Cattle should be given to the new rayats that may come. Grain and money for (buying) seeds should be given. Grain and money should be given for their maintenance and the sum should be realised in two or four years according to the means of the debtor."[21] In this way, says Sabhasad, new settlers were encouraged to come and settle in Shivaji's dominions. Rent-free land was granted for founding a market town by Shivaji's minister Moro Pingle.[22] It is also certain that though extra cesses had been abolished, the customs duties were retained. No one could travel without a passport from a competent authority and

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[19] This statement is based on Sabhasad Bakhar and Major Jervis's Konkan, but as I have already pointed out in a previous note, some of these dues continued to be levied till Shivaji's death and a few certainly survived him; but, as we do not know for certain whether they were state dues or perquisites of village officers or cesses levied by village communities, we cannot challenge the accuracy of this assertion without further investigation.

[20] Jervis, p. 93.

[21] Sabhasad, p. 32. Sen, Sivachhatrapati, p. 37.

[22] Rajwade, M.I.S., Vol. XX, p. 98.

Fryer mentions a customs officer stationed at Kalyan.[23]

We know, from many published documents, how much the peasant had to pay for each bigha he cultivated, during the Peshwa period. No such document of Shivaji's time has come down to us. Major Jervis has quoted exact figures in his work on the Konkan, but from what sources we do not know. It will not, however, be improper to quote these figures here, and the reader may accept them for what they are worth. Says Jervis,—"It is commonly believed indeed, that he (Shivaji) measured and classified all the lands, and then ascertained the amount of their produce from one or two villages in each Muhal of the Ouchitgurh, Rajpooree, Rygurh, Soowurndroog, Unjunvel, Rutnagiri and Veejydroog districts, for three successive years, from which data he established the rates, half in kind, half at a fixed commutation rate differing in each Talooka, to be paid by the beegah of each sort of land. The classification of the rice lands *mule* or *dhemp*, under 12 heads; the four first still retaining their former well known distinctions. *Uwul*, first and best sort; *Doom* or *Dooyoom* second sort; *Seem* third sort; *Charoom* or *Charseem* fourth sort. The first was assessed at 12½ muns; the second at 10, the third at 8, the fourth at 6¼ muns……… The remaining eight descriptions of land went by the following names, discriminating their respective qualities, and were assessed at the annexed rates. 1st, Raupal, on which small stunted brush wood grows; 2nd, Kharwut, lands in the neighbourhood of the sea or rivers, sometimes called salt bhatty lands; 3rd Bawul, rocky soil; 4th Khuree, stony soil; 5th Kuriyet or Toorwut, lands cultivated with pulse hemp, etc. 13 (sic) Manut, lands with the roots of large trees still uncleared, as near Indapur and Goregaon.

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[23] "Till on the right, within a mile or more of *Gulleon* they yield possession to the neighbouring *Seva Gi*, at which City (the Key this way into that Rebel's Country) Wind and tide favouring we landed at about nine in the morning, and were civilly treated by the Customer in his *Choultry*; till the *Havaldar* could be acquainted of my arrival." Fryer, p. 123.

Raupal	8	maunds	per	beegah.
Kharwut	7½	,,	,,	,,
Bawul	6¼	,,	,,	,,
Khuree	6¼	,,	,,	,,
Kureyat Irst sort	6¼	,,	,,	,,
Ruho	5	,,	,,	,,
Toorwut or Katahnee	5	,,	,,	,,
Manut	5	,,	,,	,,

Subsequently the wretched cultivators have planted small spots on the most rocky eminences, wherever a little water lodged, and the least portion of soil favoured the growth of rice; this is frequent about Unjunvel and Rutnagiri Talookas, and have been classed under two heads, both called *sirwut*, the former assessed at 3¾ maunds, the latter the half of that; the produce of the first kind, would be about 16 bushels per beegah.[24]

Special rates were fixed for other harvests. Vajat jamin or uncultivable waste lands were generally excluded when a village was assessed.[25] But as cultivation spread, there was a greater demand for arable plots, and waste lands of all sorts were gradually brought under the plough. At first they were exempt from assessment, but ultimately these were also taxed at a moderate scale. Jervis says that these *warkus* or dongur lands were assessed by the hal, nangar or plough and not by the bigha. In some instances six or seven bighas of such lands were counted as one for revenue purposes. The rent of such lands varied not only with their fertility but also with the nature of the crops raised. Major Jervis gives us the following scale:

Nachni was assessed at 3¾ maunds per *nangar* in superior soil and 3 maunds in inferior soil.

Wari at 3 maunds and 2½ maunds.

Harik at 3 maunds.

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[24] For these figures see Jervis, pp. 94-97.

[25] Rajwade, M. I. S., Vol. XX., p. 94.

Other kinds of inferior produce at 1¼ maunds.

Besides the principal harvest the peasants often raised a second crop on the first class lands. These second crops were also assessed at a special rate according to their nature and deteriorating effect on the land. Jervis gives the following figures :

Turmeric—Five maunds per bigha, each bigha being ¾ actual measurement.

Hemp—Five maunds per bigha, each bigha being ¾ actual measurement.

Sugarcane cultivation assessed from 6¼ maunds to 3⅛ of raw sugar per bigha.[26]

Special consideration was made by the Peshwa government for such costly plantations as those of sugarcane, cocoanut and betelnut. The planter had to wait long for any profit and so did the government. This was the common practice in the Deccan during the Peshwa regime, and I believe the principle existed also in Shivaji's time.

5. *Revenue Divisions and Revenue Officers :*

The provinces under Shivaji's rule were styled Swarajya to distinguish them from Mughlai or provinces under other (generally Muhammadan) rulers. The Swarajya was, for revenue purposes, divided into a number of Prants consisting of two or more Districts. There were in all 16 provinces under Shivaji's government according to Ranade.[27] They were :

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[26] Jervis, pp. 94-97.

1. Maval.
2. Wai.
3. Satara.
4. Karad.
5. Panhala.
6. South Konkan.
7. Thana.
8. Trimbak.
9. Baglan.
10. Wanagad.
11. Bednore.
12. Kolhar.
13. Shrirangapatan.
14. Karnatik.
15. Vellore.
16. Tanjore.

But we get a larger number in a jabta[28] drawn in the earlier years of Chhatrapati Shahu. The document, written partly in Persian and partly in Marathi, is supposed to be in the handwriting of Shankraji Malhar. It gives the boundary and divisions of the Swarajya as understood in Shahu's time. The following are the provinces enumerated in Shahu's jabita Swarajya:

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[27] Ranade, R. M. P., pp. 117-118.

[28] Mawji, Jabita Swarayya, J.B Br.R.A.S., Vol. XXII, pp. 36-89.

1. Subha Ramnagar including Ghandevi.
2. ,, Jawhar Prant.
3. ,, Prant Bhiwadi (12 Talukas).
4. ,, Kalyan (20 Talukas).
5. ,, Cheul (6 Talukas).
6. ,, Rajpuri (12 Talukas).
7. ,, Javali (18 Talukas).
8. ,, Dabhol (11 Talukas).
9. ,, Rajapoor (18 Talukas).
10. ,, Kudal (15 Talukas).
11. ,, Prant Bhimgad (5 Talukas).
12. ,, Prant Phonde (5 Talukas).
13. ,, Prant Akole (5 Talukas).
14. ,, Poona (6 Talukas).
15. ,, Baramati.
16. ,, Indapur.
17. ,, Prant Mawal (13 Talukas).
18. ,, Prant Wai (4 Talukas).
19. ,, Prant Satara (6 Talukas)
20. ,, Prant Kurhad (9 Talukas)
21. ,, Prant Khatao excluding Kasba Khatao (11 Talukas).
22. ,, Prant Man (4 Talukas).
23. ,, Prant Phaltan Mahal.
24. ,, Prant Belgaum.
25. ,, Sampgaon.
26. ,, Gadag.
27. ,, Laxmeshwar.

28. Subha Nawalghund.
29. ,, Kopal.
30. ,, Halyal.
31. ,, Betgiri.
32. ,, Malkapur (4 Talukas).
33. ,, Prant Panhala (10 Talukas).
34. ,, Tarle (5 Talukas).
35. ,, Ajera (51 Talukas).
36. ,, Prant Junnar (24 Talukas).
37. ,, Kolhapore.

Some of these may be later additions, but this list, we think, fairly represents the division of Shivaji's kingdom. Sambhaji had no mind to improve the administration and Rajaram had no leisure. It is not, therefore, probable that many changes had been made in the territorial division of the kingdom before the accession of Chhatrapati Shahu.

Shivaji had done away with the agency of such old hereditary officers as the Patil and the Kulkarni in the village and the Deshmukh and the Deshpande in the district. They were left in the enjoyment of their old dues but the work of revenue collection was entrusted to new officers directly appointed by the king. The country had been divided by the Muhammadan government for revenue purposes into Mauja, Pargana, Sarkar, and Subhas; Shivaji abolished, or to be more accurate, modified these old divisions. In his time the country was divided into Maujas, Tarfs and

Prants. The officer in charge of a Tarf was styled as Havaldar, Karkun or, in some rare instances, Paripatyagar. The officer in charge of a Prant was variously designated as Subhedar, Karkun or Mukhya Deshadhikari. Over several Prants was sometimes placed an officer called Sarsubhedar, to supervise the work of the Subhedars. These officers, like the Kamavisdars and the Mamlatdars of the Peshwa period, had to look after all the branches of the administration. The Subhedar's staff consisted of the usual complement of eight officers, *viz.*

1. The Dewan.
2. The Mazumdar.
3. The Fadnis.
4. The Sabnis.
5. The Karkhanis.
6. The Chitnis.
7. The Jamadar.
8. The Potnis.

The Subhedar usually had an annual salary of four hundred Hons a year, including the palanquin allowance. While his Mazumdar's pay varied from one hundred to one hundred and twenty-five Hons a year. The Mazumdar also enjoyed the proud privilege of carrying a sun-shade[29] on public occasions and a small allowance was sanctioned by the government for its upkeep. A

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[29] Abdagir,

Havaldar in charge of a small village had often to be contented with a paltry allowance of three to five Hons only a year.[30]

The Kamavisdar and the Mamlatdar under the Peshwa regime, though appointed for a short term, were generally allowed to retain their office for life, and to transmit it to their heirs. No public office was hereditary under Shivaji's administration, and like the Magistrates and Commissioners of British India, his Karkuns, Havaldars, and Subhedars were, as a rule, transferred from district to district and province to province. This can be clearly proved by a list of officers carefully compiled by Mr. Bhashkar Vaman Bhat[31] from the official letters and documents published in the 15th, 16th, 17th, 18th and 20th volumes of Mr. Rajwade's *Marathyanchya Itihasanchi Sadhanen.*

In Mr. Bhat's list, we find that the following officers were in charge of the several districts for the years marked against their names:

Havaldar.

Nimb ...	Yesaji Ram ...	1676 A.D.
Haveli ...	Amaji Kanho ...	1676 A.D.
Koregaon ...	Bhimaji Malhar ...	1676 A.D.

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[30] Sabhasad, p. 31. Sen, Siva Chhatrapati, p. 35.

[31] Bharat Itihas Sanshodhak Mandal, Tritiya Sammelan Vritta pp. 128-131.

Tarf Satara ...	Kukaji Bayaji ...	1675 A.D.
,, ,, ...	Mahadaji Anant ...	1676 A.D.
,, ,, ...	Tukaji Prabhu ..	1677 A.D.

We are not in possession of a complete list of Havaldars, and we do not know whether in other districts also officers were changed so often as in Satara. Our information about Subhedars and Sarsubhedars is, however, more satisfactory and the working of the principle of a short term appointment and occasional transfer can be very conveniently proved by the following instances from Mr. Bhat's list :

Subhedars.

Wai Prant ...	Yesaji Malhar ...	1676 A.D.
,, ,, ...	,, ,, ...	1679 A.D.
,, ,, ...	,, ,, ...	1687 A.D.
,, ,, ...	,, ,, ...	1690 A.D.
,, ,, ...	,, ,, ...	1696 A.D.
,, ,, ...	Anaji Janardan ..	1697 A.D.
Jawli ...	Viroram ...	1664 A.D.
,, ...	Viththal Datto ...	1671-1672 A.D.
,, ...	Ambaji Mordeu ...	1676 A.D.
,, ...	Gopal Rayaji ...	1677 A.D.
,, ...	Kashi Rangnath ...	1680 A.D.
Prant Kol ..	Ganesh Jogdeu ...	1672 A.D,
,, ,, ...	Venkaji Rudra ...	1677 A.D.
Prant Puna ...	Tryambak Gopal...	1679 A.D.
,, ,, ...	Vinayak Umaji ...	1681 A.D.

It is also certain that this principle survived Shivaji and continued down to the first decade of the 18th century so far as the appointment of Mudradharis was concerned. In support of this view Mr. Bhat has produced the following list of Mudradharis or officers in charge of Sajjangad:

Jijoji Katkar	...	1676 A.D.
Do	...	1682 A.D.
Makaji Katkar	...	1689 A.D.
Barhanji Mohite	...	1692 A.D.
Do.	...	1699 A.D.
Girjoji Bhonsle	...	1708 A.D.
Do.	...	1709 A.D.
Yesaji Jadhava, from 11th Falgun	...	1709 A.D.
Satbaji Daval	...	1712 A.D.

Mr. Bhat further points out that Ambaji Mordeu, who was Subhedar of Jawli in 1676, occupied the office of the Subhedar of Satara from 1683-1685. Mahadji Shamraj, Subhedar of Jawli from 1706-1708, was formerly in charge of Prants Satara and Mawal.

From the multiplicity of their duties these officers were liable to corruption. Public opinion in those days was not offended if a Havaldar went out of his way to take a small present from a traveller for granting his passport, or from an aggrieved petitioner for redressing his grievances. Dr. Fryer, who visited the Maratha dominions towards the close of Shivaji's career, has left a quaint account of such an occasion. "When I came before the Governor," says the Doctor,[14] "I found him in State, though under an Hovel; where were many *Brachmins* with Accompt Books, writing at some distance; nearer, his Privy council, with whom he seemed to advise: I was placed on his Left hand, and desired my Interpreter to acquaint him my Errand, withal intreating his Favour for my secure passing the Hill: He made it a piece of difficulty, and told me I must return to *Bimly* for Orders, to whose *Havaldar* he was accountable, not to him of *Gulleon*; which was within half a day's journey from whence I set forth. Hearing this I bore myself as sedately as I could, having been informed of the advantage they take of a disturbed Countenance; and sweetened him with his own Authority being sufficient, telling him of his Master's Kindness to the *English*, and their friendship towards him: which worked him to a yielding Temper; yet he scrupled my *Canister*, or Trunk, might be lined with Pearl, my Horse sold to the Enemy, hoping to suck somewhat out of me; I replying, What I had brought were at his liberty to search, and that I went only on an amicable account to Cure a Sick Person and should be

[14] Fryer, p. 127.

as ready to serve him, if required, his Fury was quite pawled but perceiving an hungry look to hang on them all, and suspecting lest they should serve me some Dog-trick, I made a small Present, and he signing the Pass, dismissed me with a Bundle of *Pawn* the usual Ceremony at Parting." 'The hungry look' and the weakness for presents are perhaps pardonable, but another charge that the English Doctor brought against Shivaji's revenue officers is too serious to be overlooked.

Public officers in the 17th century whether Asiatic or European were not overscrupulous. But good kings, as a rule, exercised a strict control over them. Shivaji in particular was served by a very efficient intelligence department. It is an old practice in India to employ spies to watch over the conduct of government servants.[33] The work of District and Provincial officers was supervised by the Pant Amatya and the Pant Sachiv. Ranade tells us that "The district accounts had to be sent to these officers, and were there collated together, and irregularities detected and punished. These officers had power to depute men on their establishments to supervise the working of the district officers."[34] Shivaji, moreover, was very keen about the success of his government and wanted that his administration should compare favourably with that of his Muhammadan neighbours.[24] But all his cares and sound regulations were fruitless indeed if his revenue officers really worked as arbitrarily as Fryer says they did. "They are neither for Public Good or Common Honesty, but their own private Interest only: They refuse no Base Offices for their own Commodity, inviting Merchants to come and trade among them, and then rob them, or else turmoil them on account of Customs; always in a Corner getting more for themselves than their Master, yet openly must seem mighty zealous for their Master's Dues: So that Trade is unlikely to settle where he hath anything to do; notwithstanding his Country lies all along on the Sea-shore, and no Goods can be transported without his Permission; unless they go a great way about, as we are forced to do."

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[33] See Kautilya, Arthashastra translated by R. Shama Shastry, p. 35.

[34] Ranade, R. M. P., p. 125.

This is by no means the worst that the English traveller has to say against the Maratha officers. He continues—"It is a General Calamity, and much to be deplored, to hear the Complaints of the poor People that remain, or are rather compelled to endure the Slavery of *Seva Gi*: The *Desies* have Land imposed upon them at double the former Rates, and if they refuse to accept it on these hard Conditions (if

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[24] Rajwade, M. I. S., Vol. VIII, p. 24.

Monied Men) they are carried to Prison, there they are famished almost to death; racked and tortured most inhumanly till they confess where it is: They have now in Limbo several *Brachmins*, whose Flesh they tear with pincers heated Red-hot, drub them on the Shoulders to extreme Anguish (though according to their Law it is forbidden to strike a *Brachmin*). This is the accustomed Sawce all *India* over, the Princes doing the same by the Governors, when removed from their Offices, to squeeze their illgot Estates out of them; which when they have done, it may be they may be employ'd again: And after this fashion the *Desies* deal with the *Combies*; so that the Great Fish prey on the Little, as well by Land as by Sea, bringing not only them, but their Families into Eternal Bondage.''[36] Fryer was of opinion that even Bijapore rule was milder than that of Shivaji.

If Fryer's account is borne out by facts, the state of the country was terrible indeed. But Fryer had made only a short trip through Shivaji's dominions and his stay there was by no means long. It does not appear probable that his account was based on personal experience or first hand knowledge of any other kind. Shivaji is still adored as an ideal king, and people referred to his institutions with admiration in days of anarchy and misrule. Traditions may be exaggerated, but they are never entirely baseless. Traditions attribute all sorts of good institutions to such good rulers as Alfred and Elizabeth, but legends have not hitherto paid any tribute to the memory of such bad kings as John and James II. It is a very important point that the memory of Shivaji is still cherished by the people of Maharashtra as that of a great and good king. If he had really tortured his Brahman officers with red hot pincers and they in their turn had dealt out similar treatment to the Desais, Shivaji would not have been revered as an incarnation of Shri Shambhu Mahadev. We have already seen how the great Maratha had striven to liberate the poor peasants from the tyranny of the Deshmukhs and Deshpandes. It, therefore, seems improbable that he should allow his officers to force lands on the Desais at an exorbitant rate. Far from molesting any Brahman, Shivaji never offered any insult to holy men and holy places of his Muhammadan enemies. Although many temples and idols were defiled and desecrated by Muhammadan bigots, Shivaji never failed to send any copy of the Quran, he might come in possession of, to some of his Muslim officers. Even Khafi Khan, an inveterate enemy of the Maratha hero, paid him an unwilling compliment on that account.[57]

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[36] Fryer, pp. 146-147.

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[57] Elliot and Dowson, Vol. VII, p. 260.

Dellon, a French Physician, who visited the western coast about the same time as Fryer, remarks that "His (Shivaji's) subjects are pagans, like himself. But he tolerates all religions and is looked upon as one of the most politic princes in those parts."[38] Shivaji styled himself as *Go-Brahman Pratipalak*, 'Protector of Brahmans and cows,' and could hardly with any consistency to his professed ambition, overlook the conduct of his officers, if they really tortured the Brahmans. Fryer's story, therefore, seems to be baseless. Corruption there certainly existed, and instances of tyranny and misrule doubtless occurred. Shivaji, in the midst of those wars of conquest and defence, could hardly get any time for improving his government. But Fryer seems to have dipped his brush in the black dye too frequently while painting a picture of Shivaji's country. Grant Duff[39] says, "The Mahomedan writers, and one contemporary English traveller, describe his country as in the worst possible state; and the former only mention him as a depredator and destroyer; but those districts taken by him from Beejapore, which had been under the management of farmers and direct agents of government, probably experienced great benefit by the change."

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[38] Dellon, pp. 56-57.

[39] Grant Duff, Vol. I, p. 188.

6. *Mints and Coins :*

Besides land revenue and customs duties, a small income was derived from mints. The Peshwas did not permit free coining, but the goldsmiths usually obtained license for mints under certain restrictions. That must have been the practice in the pre-Peshwa period also. Shivaji never tried to control the currency and plainly told the English Ambassador, that "he forbids not the passing of any manner of Coins, nor on the other side, can he force his Subjects to take those Monies whereby they shall be Losers ; but if their Coin be as fine an Allay, and as weighty as the *Mogul's*, and other Princes, he will not prohibit it."[40] The result was that all sorts of foreign coins were current in Shivaji's kingdom and even in his own treasury could be found few or no coins of the Rairi mint. Sabhasad says[41] that Shivaji had no less than 400,000 of Shivarai Hons at the time of his death, but these Shivarai Hons were in all probability of Vijayanagar origin, for only 2 or 3 Shivaji Hons have yet been discovered. Sabhasad enumerates no less than 32 different kinds of gold coins and 6 different kinds of silver coins while giving an account of Shivaji's treasures. They were :

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[40] Fryer, p. 80.

[41] Sabhasad, p. 95. Sen, Siva Chhatrapati, pp. 134-135

Gold Coins.

1. Gambar.
2. Mohar.
3. Putli.
4. Padshahi Hon.
5. Satlamis or Satramis.
6. Ibhrami.
7. Shivarai Hon.
8. Kaveripak.
9. Sangari Hon.
10. Achyutrai Hon.
11. Devarai Hon.
12. Ramchandrarai Hon.
13. Guti Hon.
14. Dharwari Hon.
15. Falam (Fanam).
16. Pralkhati Hon.
17. Pav Naiki Hon.
18. Advani Hon.
19. Jadmal Hon.
20. Tadpatri Hon.
21. Afraji Hon.
22. Tribaluri Hon.
23. Trisuli Hon.
24. Chandavari (Tanjori) Hon.
25. Bildhari Hon.
26. Ulphakari Hon.
27. Muhammad Shahi Hon.
28. Veluri Hon.
29. Katerai Hon.
30. Devajvali Hon.
31. Ramnathpuri Hon.
32. Kungoti Hon.

Silver Coins.

1. Rupees.
2. Asrafis.
3. Abashis.
4. Dabholi Kabri.
5. Chauli Kabri.
6. Basri Kabri.

Some of these coins were current in foreign countries; Ibhrami, for instance, was common in the market places of Bussorah.[42]

Shivaji had his mint at Raigad. His first coins were not probably issued before 1674. A large number of copper coins were issued, and no less than 25,000 of these were collected and examined by the Rev. Mr. Abbott.[43] But very few gold coins of Shivaji are known to-day, probably because only a few were struck.

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[42] Fryer, p. 210.

Shivaji had no good mechanic to work his mint. The irregular shape of the coins and the misshapen alphabets of the legends show the crude method of their manufacture. The writer of the Bombay Gazetteer[44] gives the following account of the working of the Chandor mint. closed in 1830. " A certain quantity of silver of the required test was handed over to each man who divided it into small pieces, rounded and weighed them, greater care being taken that the weights should be accurate than that size should be uniform. For this purpose scales and weights were given to each of the 400 workmen, and the manager examined them every week. When the workmen were satisfied with the weight of the piece, they were forwarded to the manager who sent them to be stamped. In stamping the rupee an instrument like an anvil was used. It had a hole in the middle with letters inscribed on it. Piece after piece was thrown into the hole, the seal was held by a workman called *batekari* ; and a third man gave a blow with a six pound hammer. Three men were able to strike

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[43] J. B. Br. R.A.S. Vol.. XX, p. 109.

[44] Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. XVI, p. 429.

2,000 pieces an hour, or 20,000 in a working day of ten hours. As the seal was a little larger than the piece, all the letters were seldom inscribed." The Chandor mint was opened long after Shivaji's demise. But that the description holds good with respect to Shivaji's mint also, can be proved by a simple inspection of Shivarai coins. The small Shivarai Hon in the museum of the Bharat Itihas Sanshodhak Mandal, for example, lacks the compound letter "tra" in the word Chhatrapati, evidently because the little circular piece had originally been hammered on a seal of much larger size.

The goldsmiths in charge of the mint could evidently boast of very little learning. In the copper coins alone, we find no less than eight different spellings of the word Shri Raja Shiva Chhatrapati. The Rev. Mr. Abbott gives the following eight variations in the spelling of this word on Shivarai pice :

1. Ob श्रीराजाशिव ... छचपति R.
2. ,, श्रीराजाशिव ... छचपती ,,
3. ,, श्रीराजाशीव ... छत्रपति ,,
4. ,, श्रीराजाशीव ... छत्रपती ,,
5. ,, श्रीराजासिव ... छत्रपति ,,
6. ,, श्रीराजासिवा ... छत्रपती ,,
7. ,, श्रीराजासीव ... छत्रपति ,,
8. ,, श्रीराजासीव ·· छत्रपती ,,

The small Shivarai Hon in the Bharat Itihas Sanshodhak Mandal's[15] museum has on the obverse the figures of Shiva and Bhavani seated side by side, and on the reverse the name of Shivaji inscribed in the following manner :

सीव

रा (modi) जछ (त्र)

पती

7. *Chauth and Sardeshmukhi*:

But neither the land revenue, nor the customs duties and the income from mints, added so much to the treasury of Shivaji as the Chauth and the Sardeshmukhi. Even in normal times he depended more on his army than on his civil officers for the necessary finances. It is on this account that he has been branded as a robber chief both by his contemporaries and by posterity as well. But the great Maratha king had no other alternative. He had to brave the enmity of the Mughals and the Sultan of Bijapore, not to count the pinpricks that he had often to bear from such minor powers as the Habshis of Janjira, the

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[15] Through the kindness of *Prof.* D. V. Potdar, the Joint Secretary of the B.I.S. Mandal, I obtained an opportunity of examining this really rare coin, but it has already been described by Mr. Bhave in the fifth Sammelan Vritta of the Mandal, p. 121.

Portuguese of Goa, and petty semi-independent chiefs like the Koli Rajas. He had to organise an army to defend his newly conquered territories, he had to build innumerable forts to fortify difficult passes, he had to fit out a fleet to prevent the piracy and the depredations of the Siddi's navy, he had to buy arms and ammunitions and needed money for these works. Nature was by no means munificent to the Maratha. The valleys yielded but a scanty return to the strenuous labour of the Mawali peasants. It would have been impossible for Shivaji to finance his army and navy from the limited resources of his native land alone, even if he had taxed all his ingenuity to enhance them. Consequently he had to make war furnish the means of war.

But Chauth and Sardeshmukhi were quite different from spoils of war. They were more or less permanent demands. Shivaji's claim to Sardeshmukhi was based on a legal fiction. He claimed to be the hereditary Sardeshmukh of his country and had put forth his claim early in his career. If his claim had been acknowledged, or if he had succeeded in obtaining a farman in its support, there would have been no legal flaw whatever in his demand. This imperial sanction, however, could not be obtained before Shahu's accession to his grandfather's throne, and in Shivaji's time at least, Sardeshmukhi was not recognised as his watan. Chauth was nothing but a tribute exacted from the weak by the strong. The Raja of Bednore and the Chief of Soonda agreed to pay Chauth in 1676, because they had no option in the matter. Shivaji had invaded their principalities with a strong army and any refusal would have been sternly punished. The Marathas obtained a legal right to levy Chauth, when the diplomacy of Balaji Vishwanath secured for Shahu an imperial recognition of that oft-repeated claim. This legal sanction would have been of little avail, if it had not been backed by the lance of the Maratha horseman. Nothing short of an expedition would make any chief or king, either Hindu or Muhammadan, admit Shivaji's claim to a quarter of his revenue and nothing but a strong army could enforce punctual payment. It was, therefore, a military contribution levied by a power without being in formal occupation of the country, and without observing the formalities specified by modern International Law. But the late Mr. Ranade does not admit that Chauth was a mere military contribution without any moral or legal obligation on the part of the Marathas to protect the Chauth-paying chiefs from the invasion of a third power or to restore peace and order in their country. He was of opinion that the policy underlying the exaction of Chauth was the same as that which impelled Lord Wellesley to enforce a subsidiary alliance on his weaker neighbours. "The demand for *chouth* was subsequently added with the consent of the powers whose protection was undertaken against foreign aggression, on payment of fixed sums for the support of the troops maintained for such service. This was the original idea as worked out by Shivaji, and it was this same idea which in the Marquis of Wellesley's hand bore such fruit a hundred and twenty five years later." Such is Ranade's interpretation of the Chauth policy.[40]

[40] Ranade, R. M. P., pp. 224-225.

The Chauth was originally nothing but a black mail. The subjects of the Koli Raja of Ramnagar used to give considerable trouble to the Portuguese subjects of Daman by their robbery, depredation and plundering raids. At last the peaceful inhabitants of some villages in the District of Daman came to an amicable arrangement with the Raja of Ramnagar and agreed to pay him an annual tribute called the Chauth (Chouto) provided his people no longer caused them any loss or trouble. The Raja of Ramnagar was styled in the Portuguese records as the king Choutia as he used to receive Chauth. When this arrangement was made we do not exactly know, but it has been mentioned by Fr. Antonio de Gouveia as early as 1603. (*Jornada*, Fl. 125 quoted in Dalgado's *Glossario Luso Asiatico*, Vol. I, p. 280.) The King Choutia and his claim to Chauth has been referred to in a royal letter in 1605. After the annexation of the Koli principalities of Jawhar and Ramnagar Shivaji asserted his claim to the Chauth of Daman. He demanded Chauth from his Muhammadan enemies for the first time in 1665 and it is noteworthy that he had passed through the principality of Ramnagar on his way to Surat in the previous year. It is therefore clear that Shivaji was not the originator of Chauth but he was certainly responsible for its wider application. For a more detailed discussion of this interesting question, the reader is referred to my *Historical Records at Goa*, pp. 12-24. The unpublished Portuguese

It is true that Shahu had, in return for the grant of Chauth, bound himself to maintain a body of 15,000 horse in the Emperor's service, to be placed at the disposal of the Subhedars, Faujdars and officers in the different districts "and to maintain peace and order." But neither Shahu nor the Peshwas ever cared to assist the Subhedars of the Deccan unless it served their own interest. Shivaji also had often offered his services to the Emperor of Delhi, but he had exacted Chauth at the point of his sword ; the Emperor did not expect that Shivaji would ever look after the Mughal interests and Shivaji also knew that no treaty would serve him better than his own strong arms. It cannot, therefore, be denied that the Maratha kings exacted Chauth without undertaking the least responsibility for the country's welfare, and it should also be remembered that they never expected the Chauth-paying states to give up their diplomatic independence. Here lies the fundamental difference between the subsidiary system and the exaction of Chauth. The East India Company always held themselves responsible for the defence of the allied state, while they expected it to renounce

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records have been for the first time quoted there in extenso. The Raja of Ramnagar did not, it should be noted, offer to protect the people of Daman from foreign aggression but it was only the aggression of his own people that he undertook to prevent and Shivaji does not appear to have gone further than that all diplomatic relations with other powers. Moreover, the Marathas never cared to maintain an extra Regiment when they received Chauth from a prince, nor had the amount of tribute any relation to the possible expense that might be incurred in the defence of the Chauth-paying territories. I do not, however, hold that the Maratha statesmen had no idea of a subsidiary arrangement ; such an arrangement was made with the Raja of Bundi by the Peshwas, but that was long after the demise of Shivaji.

The Chauth was therefore nothing but a contribution exacted by a military leader. But are such exactions sanctioned by International Law ? The ancient Romans, while extending their empire, had set no limit to their rapacity. "*Bellum alit bellum*" war must pay for war, was their favourite maxim. But pillage has not ceased to be an inevitable characteristic of war with the dissolution of the Roman Empire. Even in the 19th century, so late as 1865, General Sherman's campaign had been accompanied by the systematic pillage of the territories he marched through.[47] Requisition, which is only a variation of contribution, is also sanctioned by the most modern laws of war and was practised, though unwillingly, by no less a man than George Washington.[48] Shivaji also could plead as urgent a necessity as Washington. Both of them had been fighting for their country's liberation and both of them were sorely in need of money. Washington requisitioned the property of his unwilling fellow-citizens and Shivaji levied contribution on the enemy subjects. It served two ends at once. It not only weakened the enemy he was fighting, but at the same time added to his own resources.

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[47] Bentwitch, p. 28.

[48] *Ibid*, p. 10.

Shivaji's kingdom was a military state if we are allowed to style it so. It was in a state of chronic warfare. Even for its finances, Shivaji depended more on war than on the processes of peace. The wealth amassed in the ports of his enemies by their commercial enterprise flowed into Shivaji's treasury, as a reward of his military prowess. The result of this policy was the inevitable ruin of trade and commerce. Surat, the premier port of Western India, lost its trade for ever. But while plundering his enemies' lands Shivaji took good care to protect his own country from a similar calamity. It was absolutely impossible that his attempts in this direction should be crowned with complete success. But he did all that was practicable. His statesmanship converted the hardy soldiers of Maharashtra into excellent civil administrators. Shivaji did not aspire to be an original legislator, indeed, he had no leisure for such work. But he revived some of the best regulations of his predecessors and made slight improvements upon them. It does not seem possible that he had been able to achieve much reform. We also do not know how far the spirit of these regulations was observed by Shivaji's officers. The public opinion of that time did not condemn bribery and corruption and we are afraid, Shivaji's officers were not much better, if not actually worse, than their successors of the Peshwa period. His country saw no peace till the overthrow of the Mughal power. Shivaji never had more than a couple of peaceful years at a time and even that not more than once in his life. It is futile to expect that commerce and agriculture should prosper under these circumstances. But Shivaji's regulations were well suited to the needs of the country. The assessment was flexible and varied from year to year. Whatever might have been the annual yield, a considerable share was left to the peasants In the years of scarcity they could expect relief from the state. Consequently, they had good reasons to devote their attention to agricultural pursuits, but it is quite probable that the prospects and honour of a military career had stronger charms for the hardy peasant of the Ghat ranges.

APPENDIX C

"A Kaulnama from Rajashri Annaji Datto to the Deshmukh, and Deshkulkarni and Mokdam, Patil and the peasantry of Tarf Rohidkhore in the Subha of Mawal, dated Surasan Tisa Sabain Alaf (1678),—You came to the presence at camp Lakhevadi and (represented) that in the watani districts of His Majesty, the rayats should be encouraged by the confirmation of their kaul and fixing the rent of the lands. Having confidence............ ..and taking into consideration the remissions made, we grant the following terms for the land. From the year San Saman (it is the practice to realise) half the produce, from the last year the lands were remeasured according to the *bighaoni* system and the rent was fixed from a calculation of the produce and it was settled that of the lands....................................the inspection (*pahani*) of what places had one year been made, and the produce was found to have decreased and a plot though originally a first class land had (now) deteriorated then ....Such a settlement was not made after an understanding with the rayats. Therefore you petitioned that a settlement should be made (about the rent). Thereupon the following agreement is made that in the present year……… ………is almost over and the last one month only remains……… The agreement about the rent of San Sabaina ………the (produce) should be estimated, such was the agreement made. If some Brahman or Prabhu Karkuns are appointed for this work, then what will those lethargic people do? Into how many blocks are village lands divided, what are the crops grown in the village, what rent should be realised, what (do those) poor men (know about that)………Therefore, as you are the people responsible for the revenue of your district (this work has been) thrown upon you. Therefore you should from to-day ………………make an estimate of the revenue of your district. For this work, the Deshmukh and the Deshkulkarni and the Mokdam and officers...accompanied by a few rayats, should with one accord go from village to village and ascertain that the produce of such a village is so much, the land (in it)...is so much, of the (arable) land, the first, second, and third class (plots)...are so many. After carefully ascertaining (these things) and making an estimate of the crops grown,………you should after a proper enquiry find out what may be the probable produce if (more) labour is applied, and put that amount (under that class of) lands...You should make your estimate after examining (proper) evidence, in the following manner—that at a certain place Malik Ambar's (estimated) produce was so much, of that autumnal or the first harvest of the first, second, third and the fourth class lands is so much, of the second or the vernal crop is so much. After determining the (produce of) the two harvests, you should state that in so many bighas is such and such crop (cultivated). After making these entries (under the heading) of each particular village, if there are few peasants...then according to the above order, you should make an estimate of produce of the whole Tape, and to do this work, time of a year from to-day, has been given to you. You must in the meantime, inspect the whole Tape, village by village, field by field, and carefully ascertain their yield and write to me. I shall thereafter come and inspect three villages of these (different) sorts in your Tape one... hilly, one marshy and one with black soil...and the villages near their boundary having been inspected according to the practice of the Karkuns,...having connected (and) (comparing that ?)...Your total and what may be the produce of one village...and making it ready according to that...if the total under each item become 1¼, 1½ or double as much, then in that way...

$1\frac{1}{2}$, $1\frac{1}{4}$ and double...having been proved correct ...and you are to (realise accordingly)...should do if...do so then...it will be all right if it tallies...settlement...settlement...to be made... agree...to this effect has been made...we are agreeable...the cultivation of the district...Give such an assurance...from the Huzur.[1]

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[1] Rajwade, H. I. S., Vol. XV, pp. 268-270.

കേരള സാഹിത്യ അക്കാദമി

APPENDIX D

Coins mentioned by Sabhasad

I have not been able to identify all the gold coins mentioned by Sabhasad.

(1) Gambar is probably the same as Gubbur a coin current at Bombay in 1763. It was worth at that date 3 Rupees 12 annas and 6 pies. Hunter, *Annals of Rural Bengal,* Appendix O, p. 474.

(2 & 3) Mohar and Putlis are rather common coins, the value of a Putli is about 4 Rs.

Hon, Varaha and Pagoda are synonymous terms. The word Hon may be a corruption of Sanskrit Suvarna; Gerson da Cunha says that the original meaning of hun in Kanarese is gold (*Contribution to the Numismatics*, p. 10). Shivarai, Achyutrai, Devarai and Ramchandrarai Hons were Vijayanagar coins named after different kings who issued them, according to a custom prevalent in the country. The Portuguese chronicler Fernão Nuniz refers to this custom in the following words :—" On the death of that king Bucarao there came to the throne his son called Pureoyre Deorao, which in Canara means "powerful lord" and he coined a money of *pardaos* which even now they call "*puroure deorao*"; and from that time forward it has become a custom to call coins by the names of the kings that made them; and it is because of this that there are so many names of *pardaos* in the kingdom of Bisnaga." Sewel, *A Forgotten Empire*, pp. 300-301. Kaveripak, Sangari, Guti, Dharwari, Advani, Chandavari (Tanjore), Veluri and Ramnathpuri Hons, I suppose, derive their names from mint towns. Ibhrami was current in coast towns of Persia and Western India. It has been mentioned by Fryer as Embraims and Dr. Crooke explains in a foot-note —"probably Ibrahimi of Abraham. See John Fryer's *East India and Persia*, Vol. II (Hakluyt Society's edition), p. 137 and also Bird's *History of Gujrat*, p. 109. Katerai Hon was the Mysore Pagoda. For its weight and intrinsic value see Prinsep—*Useful Tables.* Forrest says "Six Canterai pagodas are nearly equal to five star pagodas"—*Selection, Maratha Series*, p. 717. Ananda Ranga Pillai mentions Saiyid Muhammad, Amaldar of Tadpatri (see *The Private Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai*, Vol. VIII, p. 31 and p. 51) and we also read in his pages of Tadpatri *dupattis* (p. 208). Tadpatri Hon probably was a coin current in the district of that name.

Prinsep mentions in his *Useful Tables* a gold coin with the figure of a trident on it, probably in it we find the Trisuli Hon of Sabhasad. Is Afraji the same as Aftabi, a gold coin of Akbar, worth 10 Rs. or Aparanj of Princep?

Fanams were small gold coins current in Southern India. "The Fanam was originally worth about 1¼ Rupees; later it was coined of silver or base gold."—Crooke in Fryer, Vol. I, p. 106. Three silver Fanams were equivalent to three half-pence when Heber wrote in 1825.

The silver coins mentioned by Sabhasad hardly present any difficulty.

The silver Asrafis were nothing but Portuguese Xerafins. A Xerafim was equal to 300 reis or pies. The word, Prof. Dalgado supposed, was derived from Perso Arabic Ashrafi. See Dalgado, *Glossario Luso Asiatico*, Vol. II, pp. 424-425.

Abashi must be Abasee of Fryer. Thevenot says that this coin was very common at Surat. The coin was of Persian origin and was named after Shah Abbas II according to Dr. Dalgado (*Glossario*, Vol. I, p. 4). Fryer says that in his time it was current at Calicut. "They (the people of Calicut) have yet a correspondence with Persia as may appear by their Abasees, a sixteen penny piece of silver, current among them" (*East India*, I, p. 143). According to Thevenot it was equivalent to 18 pence. *The Travels of Monsciur de Thevenot*, London, 1687, part III, p. 2. Dalgado says that Abassi was a silver coin of the value of about 300 reis (or 100 pice).

The word Kabri, I believe, is a misreading of Lari, a silver coin current in the coast towns of Persia and Western India. Gerson da Canha dealt with the origin of Lari in a learned article contributed to the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.*, The Portuguese called it "tanga larim" and Emerson Tennent says that money in imitation of them, struck by the princes of Bijapur and by Sivaji, the founder of the Mahrattas, was in circulation in the Dekkan as late as the seventeenth century (Ceylon, Vol. I, p. 463). According to Dalgado (Glossario, Vol. I, p. 513) its value varied from sixty to hundred reis (or pies). In Sabhasad's list we read of Laris of Dabhol, Chaul and Bussora.

CHAPTER III

ORGANISATION OF THE MILITARY DEPARTMENT.

1. Forts and Strongholds.

In his military organisation Shivaji aimed at efficiency. Vastly inferior to his enemies in numerical strength, he tried to compensate by quality the lack of quantity. He, therefore, tried to enforce strict discipline in his army and appealed not only to the military instinct but also to the patriotism of his soldiers. His earliest adherents were the Mawalis, a race of hardy hillmen, who came into prominence under Shivaji's leadership and have since then relapsed to their original obscurity. Shivaji depended mainly on these hillmen and the hills. The hills constituted an excellent defence, while the hillmen accompanied him in all his blod excursions and perilous raids. The ill clad and ill fed hillmen of Mawal were trained into an excellent infantry by the great Maratha captain, and he converted the bare rocks and mountains into impregnable forts to bar the enemy's progress through his country. At the time of his death, Shivaji possessed no less than two hundred and forty forts and strongholds, and in the jabita swarajya of Shahu[1] we find that not a single Taluka or Pargana was left without a protecting fort. Scott-Waring says that, "before his death he (Shivaji) had established his authority over an extent of country four hundred miles in length, and one hundred and twenty in breadth. His forts extended over the vast range of mountains which skirt the western shore of India. Regular fortification barred the open approaches: every pass was commanded by forts: every steep and overhanging rock was occupied as a station to roll down great masses of stone, which made their way to the bottom, and impeded the labouring march of cavalry, elephants, and carriages."[2] Chitnis pointedly remarked that forts were the very life of a kingdom,[3] and Lokahitavadi tells us that Shivaji was famous mainly for building forts.

Shivaji's hill forts, impregnable by nature, did not require a strong garrison. Five hundred was the normal strength, but in some[4] exceptional cases a stronger force was allowed. No single officer was ever placed in entire charge of the fort and its garrison. "In every fort," says Sabhasad, "there should be a Havaldar, a Sabnis

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[1] J. B. Br. R. A. S., Vol. XXII, pp. 36-42.

[2] Scott-Waring, pp. 96-97.

[3] Chitnis, p. 80.

[4] Fryer, p. 127.

(and) a Sarnobat; (and) these three officers should be of the same status. These three should conjointly carry on the administration. There should be kept a store of grain and war materials in the fort. An officer called Karkhanis was appointed for this work. Under his supervision should be written all accounts of income and expenditure. Where the fort was an important one and where forts were of extensive circuit, there should be kept five to seven Tat Sarnobats. The charge of the ramparts should be divided among them. They should be careful about keeping a vigilant watch. Of every ten men of the garrison to be stationed in the fort, one should be made a Naik; nine privates and the tenth a Naik. Men of good families should in this manner be recruited. Of the forces, the musketeers, the spearmen, the archers, and the lightarmed men should be appointed, after the Raja himself had carefully inspected each man individually and selected the brave and shrewd. The garrison in the fort, the Havaldar, and the Sarnobat should be Marathas of good families. They should be appointed after some one of the royal personal staff had agreed to stand surety (for them). A Brahman known to the king's personal staff should be appointed Sabnis and a Prabhu, Karkhanis. In this manner each officer retained should be dissimilar (in caste) to the others. The fort was not to be left in the hands of the Havaldar alone. No single officer could surrender the fort to any rebel or miscreant. In this manner was the administration of the forts carefully carried. A new system was introduced."[5]

The system was neither new nor unknown in Southern India. The regulations of Muhammad Adil Shah of Bijapur lay down clearly that the officers in charge of a fort should be three in number, neither less nor more. The Muhammadan ruler also says that these officers should be frequently transferred from one fort to another.[6] We have seen in the preceding chapter that Shivaji also used to transfer the Mudradharis or officers in charge of forts and strongholds very often. He could not safely ignore the low standard of public morality that prevailed at the time while framing these regulations. It would have been sheer imprudence to leave a single officer entirely in charge of a fort in those days of disloyalty and treachery, when gold succeeded where policy and prowess failed. Shivaji himself had frequently used the golden bait with success and it was but natural that he should take proper precaution against its repetition at his cost. It was also necessary that he should conciliate the three principal castes by distributing the responsible posts under his government equally among them. The Prabhus and the Brahmans were jealous of one another, may be for social reasons, but the state of their feeling could not be overlooked even in affairs administrative. Shivaji himself had reason to fear Brahman opposition when he assumed the sacred thread prior to his coronation. The Marathas of his time also eminently deserved high commands in the army. The different sections of the great Brahman caste were not in amity [7] and Chitnis tells us that the Sabnises were recruited from all classes of Brahmans, *viz.*, the Deshasthas, the Karhadas, the Konkanasthas and the Madhyandins.

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[5] Sabhasad, pp. 27-28. Sen, Siva Chhatrapati, pp. 29-30.

[6] Itihas Sangraha, Aitihasik Sphuta Lekha, p. 27.

2. *The Three Chief Officers and their Duties :*

The chief of the three officers was the Havaldar. He was to keep the keys with him. He was to shut the fort gates and lock them up with his own hands every evening. He was to draw the bolt and see whether the gates were properly secured. He was not to admit any one whether friend or foe, during night. Early in the morning he was to come and with his own hands open the principal gates.[8] Although he was to carry on other duties conjointly with his colleagues, the Havaldar was never allowed to relegate these to any one else. Shivaji tested the efficiency of his Havaldars mainly in their proper control of the gates. Chitnis gives an anecdote that will bear quotation here.[9] One night Shivaji went to Panhala and knocked at the gates of the fort. His attendants shouted out to the Havaldar that the Maharaja himself was seeking admission, hotly pursued by the enemy. The gates should be opened and the king taken in. The officer came and stood on the rampart with his colleagues. With due humility the Havaldar pointed out that the king's regulation did not permit the gates to be opened at that hour. He, however, offered to check the enemy till morning with the help of the guards of the out stations, while the Maharaja should wait near the gates. Then the king replied—"The regulations are mine and the order involving their breach is also mine. It is I who order you to open the gates." But the officer again submitted that he could not open the gates. Night was almost over. Till dawn the enemy would be kept off. Then Shivaji tried threats. "It is not proper," said he, "that a servant like you should not obey my orders. I will make an example of you." But still the gates were not opened. Early in the morning the Havaldar unlocked and unbolted the gates and with clasped hands approached the king. "I have done wrong; Your Majesty should punish me according to my deserts," said the officer. But the king applauded his sense of duty and promoted him on the spot. The chronicler of Shivadigvijaya informs us that those who failed this test were degraded or dismissed.

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[7] It may be incidentally mentioned here that the Konkanastha had not yet come to the forefront in Maratha politics and most of Shivaji's principal Brahman officers belonged to the Deshastha section. The keen intelligence of the Shenvis had already espied a bright prospect in another quarter and they had in large number entered the Portuguese service. With their characteristic literary aptitude, they mastered European tongues before long and acted as interpreters for European merchants of all nationalities. It is not clear whether their persecution had begun so early. In any case prudence demanded that Shivaji should recruit his officers from all the principal castes, and conciliate them all.

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[8] Chitnis, p. 79.

[9] Chitnis, p. 108. Sen, Siva Chhatrapati, pp. 220-221.

The Sabnis was in charge of the accounts in general and the muster roll in particular. The Karkhanis was mainly responsible for commissariat work. The kanujabta of the year 1, of the coronation era, thus enumerates their official duties:

The Sabnis should be in charge of accounts. On each order below the seal the Karkhanis should put his sign of approval. All orders of expenditure upon the cash and the treasury departments should be issued by the Sabnis, and under the seal of the Havaldar the Karkhanis should put his sign of approval. The daily account of these two departments should be drawn up under the supervision of both; the cash should be indicated on the account by the

Sabnis, and below the Havaldar's seal, the Karkhanis should put his sign of approval.

If any order is to be issued from the fort to the district (under its jurisdiction), it should be issued by the Sabnis. The Havaldar should put his seal (on it), and below the seal the Karkhanis should put his sign of approval.

The muster roll of the men should be taken by the Sabnis. It should be verified by a clerk of the Karkhanis. In this manner was the work of the cash and treasury departments allotted.

If any order is made upon the district for either cash or clothes, it should be issued under the seal of the Sabnis with the Karkhanis's sign of approval. Besides this, all orders and requisitions should be made by the Karkhanis. Any tax (when necessary to meet the needs of the fort) should be levied by the Sabnis, and the Karkhanis should put his sign of approval under the seal.

All accounts, whether of his own or of the Karkhanis's department, should be explained by the Sabnis, whether to the Havaldar or to the district officer or to the central government. The Karkhanis should sit near the Sabnis, but all interrogations about their accounts should be made to the Sabnis.

All correspondence with the government or the district officers, or the Sardars, or the Subhedars or other Killedars, should be written by the Sabnis. The Sabnis should put his sign in them. After the Subhedar has sealed it, the Karkhanis should enter it in the daily ledger. He should not put his sign, but the letter should not be despatched without being recorded in the daily ledger.

All inspection, and estimate of revenue of the province (under the jurisdiction of the fort) should be made by the Sabnis. This estimate should be entered into the accounts by the Karkhanis. The kaul and the order about the revenue should be issued by the Sabnis After the Havaldar has put his seal on the papers, the Karkhanis should put his sign of approval.

All accounts of income and expenditure, either in weight or in approximate value (of commodities), should be daily made by the Karkhanis. After the Havaldar has put his seal (on the accounts), the Sabnis should put his sign of approval. The Karkhanis should write all orders of expenditure upon the granary. After the Havaldar has sealed (them), the Sabnis should put his sign of approval.

The distribution of stores, whether according to weight or according to approximate value, should be made by the Karkhanis. The Sabnis's Karkun should be present on the occasion for verification.

All orders for goods or commodities upon the province (under the jurisdiction of the fort) should be issued by the Karkhanis. The Sabnis should levy contribution (when necessary). He should put his sign of approval after the Havaldar has sealed the paper.

The Karkhanis should take charge of female slaves, boy servants, horses or cattle that may come. The Sabnis should put his sign of approval below the seal. If any loss occurs, the Karkhanis should put his sign below the seal.

The Karkhanis should supervise the work when a building is constructed. The Sabnis should inspect the work. Cash and clothes should be distributed among the Karkhanis's men when occasion arises. It should have the approval of the Karkhanis. The distribution of grain should be made by the Karkhanis with the approval of the Sabnis.

All accounts of the naval stores should be written by the Karkhanis's Karkuns. The work should be exacted by him under the supervision of the Sabnis."[10]

Thus did the three officers co-operate and serve as checks to one another. Not a single fort of Shivaji could, therefore, be betrayed to his enemies. But all these precautions could not absolutely prevent treason and corruption.

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[10] Mawji and Parasnis, Sanads and Letters, pp. 130-132.

When Shivaji was absent in the camp of Jai Singh, the entire charge of the fort of Rajgad had, for the time being, fallen on Keso Narayan Sabnis, as there was no Havaldar. Keso Narayan Sabnis, on that occasion, misappropriated a large sum from public funds.[11] In 1663 Shivaji postponed an expedition to the Konkan as disquieting information of a rebellion had come from Sinhgad. In a letter dated the 2nd April, 1663, Shivaji writes to Moro Trimbak Peshwa and Abaji Sondev that he was thinking of marching against Namdar Khan in the Konkan, but news arrived from Sinhgad that a revolt had lately taken place in the fort. He had, therefore, to give up his project of marching into the Konkan for the present. The two officers were requested to march at once to Sinhgad with their troops and militia and take charge of the fort. They were further required to make an enquiry about the rebels and report their names to the king.[12]

Shivaji generally stored grains and provisions in large quantities in his forts for consumption during a siege. Towards the close of his career (in the year 1671-72), he decided to have a reserve fund to meet the extraordinary needs of forts beleaguered by the enemy. A paper under his seal drawn in the San Isanne says that Rajashri Chhatrapati Saheb has decided to raise money from each Mahal in his provinces and watans. This money should form a (reserve) fund, and should be spent only when war with Mughals would break out, and the Mughals lay siege to forts, and if money be not available from any other source; otherwise, this money should not be spent for any other government work. So has the Saheb decided and it has been settled that a sum of one lakh and twenty-five thousand Hons should constitute the reserve fund, and should be raised from the following Mahals and personages at the following rate:

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[11] Rajwade, M.I.S., Vol. VIII, p. 7.

[12] Rajwade, M.I.S, Vol. VIII, p. 11

Kudal	20,000
Rajapur	20,000
Kolen	20,000
Dabhol	15,000
Poona	13,000
Nagoji Govind	10,000
Jawli	5,000
Kalyan	5,000
Bhiwandi	5,000
Indapur	5,000
Supa	2,000
Krishnaji Bhaskar	5,000

It has been decided that the sum of one lakh and twenty-five thousand Hons (thus raised) should be set aside as a reserve fund.[13]

In the same year Shivaji granted a further sum of one lakh and seventy-five thousand Hons for repairing his principal forts. He observes that the workmen grew discontented as they did not get their wages in time. A considerable sum was on that account set aside for building and repair works alone. The sum of one hundred and seventy-five thousand was thus allotted.[14]

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[13] Rajwade, M.I.S., Vol. VIII, pp. 16-17.

Sinhgad	10,000
Sindhudurg	10,000
Vijaidurg	10,000
Suvarnadurg	10,000
Pratapgad	10,000
Purandhar	10,000
Rajgad	10,000
Prachandgad	5,000
Prasiddhagad	5,000
Vishalgad	5,000
Mahipatgad	5,000
Sudhagad	5,000
Lohagad	5,000
Sabalgad	5,000
Shrivardhangad and Manaranjan	5,000
Korigad	3,000
Sarasgad	2,000
Mahidhargad	2,000
Manohargad	1,000
Miscellaneous	7,000
	1,75,000

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[14] Rajwade, M.I.S., Vol. VIII, pp. 18-19

What arms of defence were supplied to these forts we do not precisely know. Shivaji had an artillery department and Orme[15] tells us that "He had previously purchased eighty pieces of cannons and lead sufficient for all his match-locks from the French Director at Surat." We find mention of matchlockmen and archers in Sabhasad's pages; we have there an account of at least one dashing sally by Murar Baji Prabhu when Diler Khan laid siege to Purandhar. The enemy was sometimes "assailed with rockets, musket-shots, bombs and stones."[16] Scott-Waring says that "his (Shivaji's) artillery was very contemptible, and he seems seldom to have used it but against the island of Gingerah."[17] But Shivaji's soldiers, in common with the Muhammadans of the Deccan, hurled a curious, but none the less, effective missile against their enemy while labouring up the steep sides of their inaccessible strongholds. Fryer saw "on the tops of the Mountains, several Fortresses of *Seva Gi's,* only defensible by Nature, needing no other Artillery but Stones, which they tumble down upon their Foes, carrying as certain destruction as Bullets where they alight."[18] Huge pieces of stone were for this purpose heaped at convenient stations and the Maratha soldiers rolled them down upon their enemy below. This could hardly check the progress of a determined foe; when this preliminary defence failed, the Marathas sallied out sword in hand and rushed upon the besiegers. But they did not always depend on their valour and gold was often used with very good results when steel failed.

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[15] Orme, Historical Fragments, p. 38.

[16] Sarkar, Shivaji (1st Ed.), p. 94.

[17] Scott-Waring, p. 102. [18] Fryer, p. 123.

The Havaldar of a fort usually enjoyed a remuneration of 125 Hons a year. Nagoji Bhonsle was appointed Mudradhari of fort Utlur in 1680 on a salary of 150 Hons per year, out of which he had to pay 25 Hons to two servants attached to his office. Krishnaji Surevanshi was appointed Sarnovat of the above-mentioned fort in the same year on an annual salary of 100 Hons. The Havaldar in charge of the buildings in the fort got the same pay as the Mudradhari, and his Mazumdar was paid at the rate of 36 Hons per year. Four TatSarnobats were sent by Shivaji to take charge of the ramparts of Kot Utlur, and they were engaged on 4 Hons and 8 Kaveripak Hons (12 in all) a year. Along with them had been despatched seven *bargirs* on a yearly pay of 9 Hons (3 ordinary Hons and 6 Kaveripak) per head. In a document, dated the 26th July, 1677, we find that Timaji Narayan, a clerk, was appointed as an extra hand for the office work in Fort Valgudanar, on a monthly allowance of three Hons.[18] Besides the usual remuneration each officer got, according to his rank and the importance of his charge, an additional allowance for palanquin, torch-bearers, personal attendants, sunshades and pages.[20]

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[18] Rajwade, M. I. S., Vol. VIII, pp. 28-31.

The Ramoshis and Parwaris who kept watch lived outside the ramparts and got a very small remuneration.

4. *Infantry and Cavalry* :

The Peshwa army consisted mainly of cavalry. The infantry was recruited from Hindusthan and made but a poor impression on an Irish soldier, Col. W. H. Tone. Shivaji's military genius, however, had early perceived the necessity of light infantry and light cavalry in a guerrilla war and hill campaign. His Mawalis and Hetkaris have become famous in the military annals of India. Selected after personal examination by Shivaji himself, each man was trained into an excellent soldier, not by drilling in the parade ground but by the surer method of service in an actual war. "Shiva Ji had no idea of allowing his soldiers' swords to rust." [21] The result was that not only their weapons but the men who wielded them also gained in efficiency.

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[20] Chitnis, p. 80.

[21] Manucci ed. Irvine, Vol. II, p. 208

Shivaji's infantry was carefully divided into regiments, brigades and divisions. The smallest unit consisted of 9 men and the officer commanding it was called the Naik. The Havaldar of the infantry had five such units under him. Over two or three Havaldars was placed a Jumledar. The officer commanding ten jumlas was styled a Hazari and the Sarnobat of the infantry had seven Hazaris under him. The Jumledar had an annual salary of one hundred Hons and his Sabnis got forty. The Hazari got five hundred Hons per year, and his Sabnis's salary varied from one hundred to one hundred and twenty-five Hons.[22] Chitnis informs us that at the time of a marriage or any other ceremony of similar importance in the family, the officers could expect financial help.

The cavalry was divided into two classes, *viz.*, the bargirs and the shiledars. The bargir was equipped with horse and arms by the state, while the shiledar brought his own horse and sometimes came with a body of troops armed and equipped at his own expense. The bargir belonged to the *paga* proper, while the shiledar held a comparatively inferior position. "The strength of the paga," says Sabhasad, "was rendered superior (to that of the shiledar). Shiledars were placed under the jurisdiction of the paga. To none was left independence enough for rebelling. To every horse in the paga was appointed a trooper (bargir); over twenty-five such bargirs was appointed an expert Maratha Havaldar. Five Havaldars formed a jumla. The Jumledar had a salary of five hundred Hons and a palanquin, and his Majumdar a salary of one hundred to one hundred and twenty-five Hons. For every twenty-five horses were appointed a water-carrier and a farrier. A Hazari was a commander of ten such jumlas. To his office was attached a salary of one thousand Hons, a Mazumdar, a Maratha Karbhari and a Prabhu Kayastha Jamenis; for them was allotted a sum of five hundred Hons. Salary and palanquin were given to each officer according to this scale. Accounts of income and expenditure were made up in the presence of all the four. Five such Hazaris were placed under a Panch Hazari. To him was given a salary of two thousand Hons. A Mazumdar, a Karbhari and a Jamenis were likewise attached to his office. These Panch Hazaris were under the command of the Sarnobat. The administration of the paga was of the same kind. Similarly the different brigadiers of the shiledars also were placed under the command of the Sarnobat."[23] Shivaji enlisted in his army not only Hindus but Muhammadans also. A body of seven hundred Pathans offered their services to the Maratha king and Shivaji enlisted them, it is said, in opposition to the majority of his officers. Shivaji pointed out that a king was a king first, and a Hindu or Muhammadan afterwards; and was supported in this wise resolution by an old officer Gomaji Naik. Pansambal.[24] Shivaji knew quite well that an army, however efficient, could not be expected to operate with success in an enemy country, unless served by an efficient intelligence department. He organised a body of excellent spies, the chief of whom was Bahirji Naik Jadhav. Shivaji was so well served by these intelligent officers that he owed many of his most brilliant successes mainly to the information collected by them. On one occasion his army was saved from utter destruction by Bahirji's knowledge of unfrequented hill tracks.[25]

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[22] Sabhasad, p. 30. Sen, Siva Chhatrapati, p. 33.

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[23] Sabhasad, pp. 28-29. Sen, *Siva Chhatrapati*, pp. 30-31.

Shivaji could never expect to reach the numerical strength of his enemies. But he had detected the defects of the heavily armed Muhammadan soldiery and relied on speed for success against them. He, therefore, never allowed his soldiers to be encumbered with heavy arms or costly camp equipage. Dressed in tight-fitting breeches, cotton jackets and turbans,[26] armed mainly with swords both long and short, spears and lances, bows and arrows and matchlocks, depending mainly on the spoils of war for their subsistence, Shivaji's soldiers were ready to march at a moment's notice. They were so quick both in mobilising and demobilising, that their enemies could hardly expect to get any information of their projects before their actual execution. Though the ordinary soldier was poorly dressed, Shivaji indulged in great expenditure in arming and equipping his body-guards. This regiment was divided into units of 20, 30, 40, 60, and 100 men. They were equipped at state expense and were given richly embroidered turbans and jackets of broad-cloth, gold and silver ear-rings and wristlets. Their sword-sheaths, guns and spears had silver rings and we may guess what a brilliant sight they offered when marching by the king's palanquin.[27]

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[24] Chitnis, p. 33. Sen, Siva Chhatrapati, p. 164.

[25] Sabhasad, p. 93. Sen, Siva Chhatrapati, p. 130.

[26] Grant Duff, Vol. I, pp. 181-182.

Besides the regular forces Shivaji could in times of emergency call the feudal forces of the Maratha watandars. In a kaulnama, published in the Tritiya Sammelan Vritta of the Bharat

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[27] Sabhasad, p. 58. Sen, Siva Chhatrapati, pp. 76-77.

Among the weapons in the royal armoury or Jirat Khana Raghunath Pandit not only mentions swords, daggers, and spears of different descriptions but also shields, clubs (gurguza) and battle axes (parashu). The curious reader will find an excellent chapter on arms and armours of the Marathas in "*A discription of Indian and Oriental Armour.*" By the Rt. Hon'ble Lord Egerton of Tattan, M.A., London, 1896.

Itihas Sanshodhak Mandal, two watandars, Mal Patil and Baji Patil of Birvadi, offered to serve Shivaji, when need arose, like the Mawali Deshmukhs, with ten of their attendants. For their subsistence the watandars expected six Rukas or half an anna per head per diem and they offered to serve in the army as long as the occasion demanded[28] Unlike the later Peshwas, Shivaji never depended much upon these feudal levies, nor did he prefer the mercenary shiledars, who in certain respects resembled the *condottiere* of medieval Europe, to the bargirs of his paga. It is quite possible that when his power was firmly established, Shivaji did no longer summon these feudal forces.

Shivaji paid his soldiers either in cash or by an assignment on the district governments. He was entirely opposed to payment by jagir. But when any of his soldiers happened to be a cultivator as well, the rent payable by him was deducted from his salary. Their pay was never allowed to fall in arrears as in the Peshwa days. As Shivaji was strictly punctual in his payment, it was not necessary for him to offer very high salaries. "For the lower officers and men the pay varied from Rs. 9 to 3 for the infantry, and Rs. 20 to 6 in the cavalry, according to the higher or lower rank of the soldier or trooper."[29] Officers and privates of Shivaji's army were liberally rewarded for distinguished service in war. Wounded soldiers got a special allowance according to the nature of their wounds. Widows and orphans of soldiers who fell in active service were liberally pensioned by the state and the latter, if major, were enlisted in the royal army. In any case they could expect to enter Shivaji's army whenever they attained majority and in the mean time they were sure of a suitable maintenance.[30] Shivaji assembled all his soldiers after the destruction of Afzal's army and rewarded them in the usual manner. "The sons of the combatants, who had fallen in the action, were taken into his service. He directed that the widows of those who had no sons, should be maintained by (a pension of) half their (husband's) pay. The wounded were given rewards of two hundred, one hundred, fifty or twenty-five Hons per man according to the nature of their wounds. Warriors of renown and commanders of brigades were given horses and elephants in reward. Some were sumptuously rewarded with (ornaments like) bracelets, necklaces, crests, medallions, ear-rings and crests of pearl. Such were the presents conferred on men. Some were rewarded with grants of villages in mokasa." This practice of rewarding soldiers for meritorious services, and maintaining their widows and orphans by adequate pensions, was continued throughout the Peshwa period.

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[28] B.I.S.M., Tritiya Sammelan Vritta, p. 163.

The following account of Shivaji's camp from the pen of the celebrated French Governor Martin is certainly interesting. "His Camp is without any pomp and unembarrassed by baggage or women. There are only two tents in it, but of a thick simple stuff, and very small,—one for himself and the other for his minister. The horsemen of Shivaji ordinarily receive two pagodas per month as pay. All the horses belong to him and he entertains grooms for them.........Ordinarily there are three horses for every two men, which contributes to the speed which he usually makes.........This Chief pays his spies liberally, which has greatly helped his conquests by the correct information which they give him." *Indian Historical Records Commission, Proceedings of Meetings, Vol. VI, p.* 75.

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[29] Ranade, R.M.P., 123.

[30] Sabhasad, p 25. Sen, Siva Chattrupati, p. 25.

5. *Military Regulations:*

The Maratha camp during the Peshwa period presented a disreputable spectacle. "Camp," says Elphinstone, "presents to a European the idea of long lines of white tents in the trimmest order. To a Mahratta it presents an assemblage of covering, of every shape and colour, spreading for miles in all directions, over hill and dale, mixed up with tents, flags, trees, and buildings. In Jones's 'History' march means one or more columns of troops and ordnance moving along roads, perhaps, between two hedges; in the Mahratta history horse, foot and dragoons inundating the face of the earth for many miles on every side, here and there a few horse with a flag and a drum mixed with a loose and straggling mass of camels, elephants, bullocks, nautch-girls, fakeers, and buffoons; troops and followers, lancemen and matchlockmen, bunyans and mootasuddies."[31] Broughton gives a no less disparaging picture of Sindhia's camp. Wine was publicly sold and public women accompanied the army to the prejudice of discipline and order.[32] This was unthinkable in Shivaji's time. No one was allowed to keep in the camp a female slave or dancing girl and any breach of this rule was punished with death. Shivaji, a lover of discipline and method, had drawn up for his army a set of wise regulations. These have been summed up by Sabhasad in the following lines:

"The army should come to cantonments in the home dominions during the rainy season. There should be kept stored grains, fodder, medicines, houses for men and stables for horses thatched with grass. As soon as the *Dasra*[33] was over, the army should march out of their quarter. At the time of their departure, an inventory should be made, of the belongings of all the men, great or small, in the army and they should start on the expedition. For eight months, the forces should subsist (on their spoils), in the foreign territories. They should levy contribution. There should be no women, female slaves, or dancing girls in the army. He who would keep them, should be beheaded. In enemy territories, women and children should not be captured. Males, if found, should be captured. Cows should not be taken. Bullocks should be requisitioned for transport purposes only. Brahmans should not be molested; where contribution had been laid, a Brahman should not be taken as a surety. No one should commit adultery. For eight months, they should be on expedition in foreign countries. On the way back to the barracks in the month of Vaishakh, the whole army should be searched at the frontier of the home dominions. The former inventory of the belongings should be produced. Whatever might be in excess, should be valued and deducted from the soldiers' salary. Things of very great value, if any, should be sent to the royal treasury. If any one secretly kept (any thing) and the Sardar came to know (of it), the Sardar should punish him. After the return of the army to their camp an account should be made, and all the Sardars should come to see the Raja, with gold, jewels, clothes, and other commodities. There all the accounts should be explained and the things should be delivered to his Majesty. If any surplus should be found due to the contingents, it should be asked for in cash from His Majesty. Then they should return to the barrack. *Saranjam* should be given to the men who had worked hard in the late campaign. If any one had been guilty of violating the rules or of cowardice, an enquiry should be made and the truth ascertained with the consensus of many and (the offender) should be punished with dismissal. Investigation should be quickly made. For four months they should remain in the barracks, and on the Dasraday they should wait on the Raja. (Then) they should march out to the country, selected for the expedition, by the order of the Raja. Such were the rules of the army."[34]

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[31] Elphinstone to Grant Duff, quoted in Colebrooke's Life of Elphinstone, vol. II, p. 137.

[32] Broughton, Letters from a Maratha Camp, p. 21.

[33] Scott-Waring wrongly supposes "The festival of the Dessara was instituted by Sevajee." It was an old practice of the Hindu kings to set on their expedition of conquest on the Dasra day.

These regulations were not designed merely to figure in the statute book, but were strictly enforced. While passing through the kingdom of Golkonda on his way to Tanjore, Shivaji had ordered his soldiers not to harass the people in any way. Whatever they wanted was obtained by peaceful purchase and any breach of law was severely punished. Sabhasad tells us that Shivaji on this occasion had made examples of a few offenders to intimidate others, and his severity had the desired effect. But the spirit of the times was not favourable to strict discipline,[35] and although Shivaji's spies seldom failed to bring to his notice all cases of violence and fraud,[36] yet it was impossible for him to put a stop to military excesses. In a letter dated the 8th September, 1671, we read how a Maratha soldier had attacked the Sabnis of his regiment with a naked sword.[37] On the 23rd July of the next year Shivaji wrote to Dattaji Pant Waknis that the soldiers gave trouble to the pilgrims of the Chaphal fair.[38] At Chaphal lived Ramdas, Shivaji's spiritual guide. He was revered throughout Maharashtra as a great saint and an incarnation of the monkey-god Maruti. If soldiers did not behave properly in the precincts of Ramdas's temple, we may easily imagine to what extremes their insolence carried them at safer places. Shivaji, however, could not achieve the impossible. His countrymen had before them the example of the Bijapur army, where discipline was conspicuous by its absence. Shivaji placed before them a high ideal, but an ideal cannot always be forced on an unwilling people at the point of sword. None the less, the great Maratha leader never failed to harangue his soldiers about their duties and responsibilities. In the year 1676 he came to learn that the regiment encamped at Chiplun had given great troubles to the people of the neighbourhood. The troops were short of provision and took by force what they wanted. Shivaji, therefore, issued a circular to the Jumledars, Havaldars, and Karkuns of the army reminding them that it was their duty to store sufficienf provision in time. "If grain, bread, grass and vegetable were forcibly taken away from the peasant, they would desert the locality. Some of them would die of starvation and your presence would be more unwelcome than that of the Mughals." "Do not give the rayat the least trouble," continues Shivaji, "you have no need to stray out of your camping places. Money has been given to you from the government treasury. Whatever any soldier may want, either grain or vegetable or fodder for the animals, should be purchased from the market. Violence should not be offered to any one on any account." The remarkable document fully illustrates Shivaji's anxiety for the welfare of his people and the good name of his soldiers. The last portion of the letter shows how the minutest details of the army administration did not escape his notice. He admonishes his officers to take special precaution against fire. Soldiers were not to smoke or cook near the haystacks and lamps were to be put out before the men went to bed lest mice dragged the burning wicks and set fire to the haystacks. "If the haystacks were burnt the necessary hay could not be procured even if the Kunbis were decapitated and the Karkuns harassed. The horses would die of hunger and the cavalry would be ruined."[39] Shivaji knew everything about his army, its needs and requirements. He was anxious to secure the welfare of his people and he tried his best to protect them from the violence of his soldiers. We should not be too severe with him if instances of tyranny or oppression took place inspite of his vigilance. We should judge him by what he attempted and not by what he achieved; although his achievements were by no means small.

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[34] Shabhasad, pp. 29-30. Sen, Sivachhatrapati, pp. 31-33.

[35] From the preamble of a treaty it appears that Shivaji's men had carried away a number of men, women, children, cattle besides transport bullocks from Portuguese territories in contravention of Shivaji's military regulations. See Biker, *Collecçao de Tratados*, Tomo, IV, pp. 131-132 and Sen, *Historical Records at Goa*, p. 10.

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[36] He had numberless informers about his troops; so that if they kept back any money or goods from account, he forced them to give them up. Scott, Hist. of the Dekkan, Vol. II, p. 55.

[37] Rajwade, M.I.S., Vol. VIII, p. 20.

[38] Bhate, Sajjangad-wa Samartha Ramdas, p. 122.

Inspite of his defects the Maratha soldier was a fine fellow. Of short stature and light built he was man for man inferior to the tall and stout Mughal and Deccani Mussulman. But his courage, hardihood, wonderful energy, presence of mind and agility more than compensated for his physical inferiority. Demoralised by the tactics of their elusive adversary, the Bijapuris and the Mughals at last failed to meet him even in the open field on equal terms. Fryer's comparison of the two armies well illustrates the merits and demerits of the contending forces as they struck an intelligent foreign observer. Says the Docter,[40] "*Seva Gi's* Men thereby being fitter for any Martial Exploit, having been accustomed to Fare Hard, Journey Fast, and take little Pleasure. But the other will miss of a Booty rather than a Dinner; must mount in state and have their Arms carried before them, and their Women not far behind them, with the Masters of Mirth and Jollity; will rather expect than pursue a Foe; but then they stand it out better; for *Seva Gi's* Men care not much for a pitched Field, though they are good at Surprizing and Ransacking; yet agree in this, that they are both of stirring Spirits." It is remarkable that the same love of luxury and comfort characterised the Maratha officers at Panipat. While Shivaji did not allow "Whores and Dancing Wenches in his army," [41] the Maratha army at Panipat was encumbered with a large number of women. Broughton says of Daulat Rao Sindhia's soldiers that, "such as think that life is bestowed for superior enjoyments and have a taste for more spirited modes of whiling it away, retire, at the approach of evening, to the arrack shop, or the tent of the prostitute; and revel through the night in a state of low debauchery which could hardly be envied by the keenest votary of Comus and his beastly crew." [42] Shivaji's successors had for reasons best known to them suffered these salutary regulations to lapse and the result was disastrous for their army and themselves. The Maratha soldiers declined in morale, discipline and alertness that had made them so formidable under Shivaji's leadership.

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[39] Rajwade, M.I.S., Vol. VIII, pp. 23-25.

[40] Fryer, p. 175.

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[41] Fryer, p. 174.

[42] Broughton, p. 21.

CHAPTER IV

ORGANISATION OF THE NAVY

Soon after his conquest of the Konkan, Shivaji found it necessary to organise a navy strong enough to check the raids of the Siddi's fleet on his coast. His fleet consisted mainly of Gallivats and Ghurabs as well as many river crafts of various description. Sabhasad tells[1] us that no less than four hundred Ghurabs, Tarandes, Tarus, Gallivats, Shibads and Pagars were built and organised into two squadrons of 200 vessels. Each squadron was placed under the supreme command of an Admiral, Dariya Sarang, a Muhammadan officer, and Mai Naik, a Bhandari. Dariya Sarang was not the only Muhammadan officer in Shivaji's fleet. Another prominent Muhammadan Admiral, Daulat Khan by name, entered Shivaji's service a few years later. The fleet was in all probability manned mainly by the Kolis and other sea-faring tribes of the Malabar coast. What was their uniform, or whether they had any, we do not know. At

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[1] Sabhasad, p. 68, Sen, Siva Chhatrapati, pp, 93-94.

Malwan, the principal port of Shivaji, there is a statue of the Maratha hero with the peculiar Koli hat on his head.[2] It will not, therefore, be unfair to suppose that the sailors of Shivaji's fleet generally wore a similar headgear.

Sabhasad tells us that Shivaji's fleet not only harassed the indigenous sea powers of the south, but also plundered the ships and possessions of such European powers as the Portuguese, the Dutch and the English. That Shivaji's navy was a menace to these traders is quite true, but he was not so fortunate in his naval as in his military organisation. He could hardly hold his own against the Siddis in the sea and the numerical strength of his fleet was perhaps highly exaggerated by his son's court historian. Robert Orme informs us that "The fleet of Sevagi had by this time (1675) been increased to fifty-seven sail, of which fifteen were grabs, the rest gallivats, all crowded with men."[3] Fryer saw on his way to "*Serapatan* (Kharepatan), to the *South* of *Dan de Rajpore*, a Strong Castle of *Seva Gi's* defended a deep Bay, where rode his Navy, consisting of 30 Small Ships and Vessels, the Admiral wearing a White Flag aloft."[4] Prof. Jadunath Sarkar[5] points out "that the

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[2] See Itihas Sangraha, Sphuta Lekha, p. 1

[3] Orme, Historical Fragments, p. 53.

[4] Fryer, p. 145.

[5] Sarkar, Shivaji, p. 336.

English reports never put their number above 160, and usually as 60 only." In all probability Shivaji's men-of-war did not exceed 200 in number, but he had a large mercantile navy. On land Shivaji depended more on the quality than on the number of his men, on the sea, however, his fleet was decidedly inferior to that of the English in efficiency, though not in number. The President of the Surat Factory was of opinion that "one good English ship would destroy a hundred of them without running herself into great danger."[6] This weakness was mainly due to the lack of good artillery as well as the want of a naval tradition.

The main strength of the Maratha fleet consisted in the gallivats and the ghurabs, vessels peculiar to the Malabar coast. The ghurabs and the gallivats of the Angria's fleet have been thus described by Robert Orme :[7] "The grabs have rarely more than two masts, although some have three ; those of three are about 300 tons burthen ; but the others are not more than 150 : they are built to draw very little water, being very broad in proportion to their length, narrowing however from the middle to the end, where instead of bows they have a prow, projecting like that of a Mediterranean galley, and covered with a strong deck level with the main deck of the vessel, from which, however, it is separated by a bulkhead which terminates the fore-castle: as this construction subjects the grab to pitch violently when sailing against a head sea, the deck of the prow is not enclosed with sides as the rest of the vessel is, but remains bare, that the water which dashes upon it may pass off without interruption: on the main deck under the fore-castle are mounted two pieces of cannon of nine or twelve pounders, which point forwards through the port holes cut in the bulkhead, and fire over the prow; the cannon of the broadside are from six to nine pounders. The gallivats are large row-boats built like the grab, but of smaller dimensions, the largest rarely exceeding 70 tons: they have two masts of which the mizen is very slight; the main mast bears only one sail, which is triangular and very large, the peak of it when hoisted being much higher than the mast itself. In general the gallivats are covered with a spar deck, made for lightness of bamboos split, and these only carry petteraroes fixed on swivels in the gunnel of the vessel; but those of the largest size have a fixed deck on which they mount six or eight pieces of cannon, from two to four pounders: they have forty or fifty stout oars and may be rowed four miles an hour." It is not difficult to understand why such clumsy vessels manned by inexperienced sailors should not be able to contend with the English on their peculiar element on equal terms. But we should note that Shivaji's sailors had on more than one occasion attacked Portuguese men-of-war with success.

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[6] (F. R. Surat, 86, 26 No.) quoted in Sarkar's Shivaji, p. 339.

[7] Military Transactions (2nd Ed.), Vol. I, pp. 408-409.

Of the other vessels mentioned by Sabhasad the *tarande* was a sailing vessel of large dimension; the *shibad* was a flat-bottomed two-masted craft without any deck, and the *pagar* was only a well smoothed canoe. Most probably some of these crafts belonged to the mercantile navy. It may not be out of place to note here that Shivaji had a strong mercantile fleet that plied between his ports and the coast towns of Arabia. Unlike many of his contemporaries the great Maratha had realised that a strong naval power without a strong mercantile navy was an impossibility.

Besides doing police work against the Siddi's pirate fleet Shivaji's navy was also employed in taking possession of foreign vessels wrecked on his coast and collecting duties from trading ships. In Shivaji's time it was considered the duty of the state to regulate prices of articles.[a] This was done mainly by regulating export and import duties.

The naval spirit roused by Shivaji did not die with him. The Angrias maintained the naval reputation of Maharashtra till the destruction of their fleet by the combined efforts of the Peshwa and the English. The Peshwas also had a strong fleet for defending the western coast. The mercantile spirit of the Maratha traders also found a greater scope with the expansion of the Maratha empire. In Shivaji's time merchant-men plied between Arabia and the Malabar coast; during the Peshwa period the Maratha traders actually settled in Arabian coast towns like Muscat[9] and their trading vessels visited China. The naval policy of Shivaji therefore bore ample fruit, though long after the Maratha Alfred had passed away.

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[a] Rajwade, M.I.S., Vol. VIII, pp. 21-23.

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[9] See Book, II.

CHAPTER V

OTHER ASPECTS OF ADMINISTRATION

1. *Administration of Justice*:

Shivaji's Maharashtra still retained her simple primitive method of administering justice. Elaborate rules of procedure, volumes of codified law, costly court houses were absolutely unknown. The village elders met in the Patil's office or before the village temple or under the spreading branches of a sacred fig tree to hear civil suits and administer common-sense justice. Some of these amateur judges were certainly illiterate, for they put their signs of *nangar*, *tagri*, *ghana*, or *katyar* whenever a signature was necessary. But they must have been conversant with the customary laws of their land. The *balutas* or village artisans were frequently summoned before the Panchayet to aid the judges with their invaluable knowledge of village history or tradition. But when no evidence was available, divine aid was freely invoked and the Marathas of those days had so much faith in the potency of truth that they fearlessly and sometimes with impunity grasped a red hot iron ball and plunged their hand into boiling ghi or oil to draw out a piece of metal or '*rava.*' These were not the only popular ordeals; ordeals by water, libation water, lamp and circumambulation of a sacred temple, were also known. The unknown author of *Shivaji Pratap* describes a peculiar ordeal of which we find no other instance. In an alleged case of adultery, two drops of blood, one each from the veins of the man and the woman, were taken and dropped into a cauldron full of boiling oil. But lo! they would not mingle; so the lady was honourably acquitted. For all we know this ordeal possibly had never been practised.

Criminal cases were heard in the first instance by the Patil, a gentleman without much learning and hence unlikely to be familiar with the injunctions of the old Hindu law-givers like Manu and Yajnavalkya. But the Brahman Nyayadhish who heard appeals in both civil and criminal suits was as a matter of course well versed in the *shastras*. The Hazir Majalasis to hear final appeals perhaps met more often in the days of Shivaji and his immediate successors than during the Peshwa regime. And we very frequently come across two functionaries who seem to have silently slipped away from existence during the Peshwa days. These were the Sabha Naik or Judge President and the Mahaprashnika or Chief Interrogator whose duty appears to have been to examine and cross-examine the parties. Whether they were elected by their brother judges or nominated by the king we do not know. Perhaps an elderly member who commanded the respect of his co-villagers, assumed some sort of superiority over others as a matter of course and a younger member of the Panchayet perhaps volunteered to examine the parties in order to save his colleagues from that trouble.[1]

2. *Education*:

Shivaji fostered and encouraged education in an indirect way. There was no organised education department under him. State-founded or state-aided schools were unknown. Learned scholars as in the days of yore attracted eager students from all parts of the country and the schools which thus grew formed the only centres of culture. Shivaji indirectly encouraged the foundation of these schools by making large grants in money or land to all the distinguished scholars of his time. Similar grants were made to physicians of note irrespective of their caste and creed and so the votaries of the science of medicine were permitted to carry on their studies and humanitarian endeavours in comparative ease and security. It was one of the duties of the

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[1] The old method of administering justice was practically unaffected by the rise of the Peshwas and will be treated at a greater length in Book II.

Pandit Rao to test the merit of and assign a proper inam to the deserving candidates. This system of Dakshana grant for the encouragement of learning has survived Shivaji and the Peshwas.

Many poets and literary men were attracted to Shivaji's court. Among them the most well known was Bhushan the Hindi poet. Jayaram the author of *Parnal Parvat Grahanakhyan* and Paramananda the author of *Shiva Bharat* wrote in Sanskrit. Their poetical efforts were munificently rewarded as were those of the celebrated ballad writers of the time, Ajnandas and Tulshidas.

3. *Shivaji's Achievements* ;

We have seen that the civil and the military regulations of Shivaji had been framed mainly to meet the needs of his times and in this respect they were eminently successful. Engaged in a life-long war against his Muhammadan neighbours, Shivaji could not give his people that peace and tranquillity so necessary for the growth of commerce and industry. But he had reformed the revenue system of his kingdom, organised a careful survey of his lands, and substituted a fairly enlightened and efficient government for the tyranny of semi-independent revenue officers. He had organised an army that shattered the foundation of the Mughal Empire in the South. He was the father of the Maratha navy and the mercantile policy inaugurated by him had a very bright future. Born in 1627 he died at the age of fifty-three only, and during the short reign of thirty-five years he had not only founded a kingdom but created a nation. Yet we cannot admit that Shivaji was the most original of Indian rulers. For his revenue policy he was indebted to Malik Ambar. Some of his military regulations were copied from the Adilshahi code, and the system of branding horses of the cavalry was known in Hindustan even in Allauddin Khilji's time. Shivaji however enforced strict method where formerly there was a lack of it. The slightest irregularity did not escape his keen eyes and in personal attention to the minute details of he government perhaps he was not inferior to his great Mughal rival. We find him framing regulations about the proper style of official letters, we find him deliberating about the necessity of punctual payment of masons. He urges his cavalry officers to beware of the careless use of fire in the camp. They are warned to be more careful about storing hay and fodder for their animals. To the governor of a port he issues instructions for regulating the price of salt and nuts, and we cannot but wonder when we find the same man starting a literary movement which so vitally influenced the character of Marathi language. He employed an erudite scholar to find out Sanskrit synonyms for current Persian words and the *Rajvyavahar Kosh* was compiled.

It has often been asked why did so many of Shivaji's institutions fail to survive him. Prof. Jadunath Sarkar attributes his failure to build up an enduring state mainly to caste rivalry. The caste system is not new to India and whatever may be its effects on the Maratha state, it cannot be said that the fate of Shivaji's civil and military institutions was much affected by it. The great bane of the country had been feudalism or the jagir system and this flourished in spite of caste rivalry. Shivaji had tried his best to abolish feudalism, but the great defect of his government was its autocratic character. Its success depended on the man at the helm. Sambhaji was an incompetent ruler and it did not take him long to undo his father's work. Rajaram was unable to effect or attempt any reform. Driven from his paternal home and besieged in the fort of Jinji, he had to conciliate his friends in all possible ways. His officers offered to conquer principalities in enemy possession on the sole condition that they should be allowed to hold their conquest in jagir. Thus Rajaram helped to revive feudalism and once it was revived, Shivaji's institutions were doomed to extinction. In the turmoil of war every law was held in abeyance and when a new order dawned after the struggle for existence was over, Shivaji's institutions had become a memory. Further concessions to the feudal chiefs had to be made during the civil war between Shahu and his Kolhapur cousin. And although feudalism was in theory condemned in a work on polity attributed to Ramchandra Pant Amatya, in practice every thing was done to foster its growth. After the death of Shahu the monarchy suffered still more in power and prestige and the Peshwas became the real heads of the state. But they did not or could not suppress the ever-growing feudal tendencies and created, either from policy or from need, new fiefs for their friends and followers. The result was that the central government grew weaker as the feudal chiefs waxed stronger and ultimately the whole fabric collapsed with a tremendous crash at the slightest collision with a western power. Both the Brahman and the Non-Brahman Barons equally contributed to that collapse and caste prejudices had very little to do with the decline and fall of the Maratha empire. Shivaji's civil institutions disappeared with the rejection of his ideal.

BOOK II

THE ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM OF THE PESHWAS

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INTRODUCTION

SOURCES OF INFORMATION

1. *Original Marathi Sources*:

We tread on firmer ground when we come to the Peshwa period. Under the able leadership of the Bhat Peshwas, the Maratha empire rapidly expanded, the Maratha heroes carried their victorious banner from one end of India to the other, and the hoarded wealth of Hindustan filled the coffers of the southern warriors. Prosperity and wealth naturally spurred the literary activities of the Marathas and numerous *bakhars* were written to immortalise the valiant achievements not only of the Peshwa and Shahu Chhatrapati but of lesser chiefs as well. The Dabhades, the Gaikwads, the Bhonsles, the Patwardhans, the Sindhia and the Holkar, all found or employed some able chronicler to compile the history of their respective families.[1] Two chronicles of the *Panipat disaster* have come down to us and the famous prince who led the Maratha army on that fateful day was not left without a biography. As in the old days stirring accounts of national triumphs and national disasters were supplied by those popular bards—the *shahirs,* who wrote not for the learned few but for the teeming masses toiling in the fields and forests, hills and dales, towns and hamlets of the Maratha country. But fortunately we have not to rely on the beautiful ballads of the shahirs or on the charming narrative of the chroniclers for an account of the administrative institutions of the Peshwas. We have more reliable materials in the contemporary records and state papers, carefully and methodically preserved in the *Husur Daftar* or imperial secretariat at Poona.

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[1] A list of these chronicles will be found in *Marathyanchya Itihasanchen Sahitya*, compiled by G. S. Sardesai, T. S. Shejavalkar, D. V. Apte and V. S. Vakaskar.

The Peshwa *Daftar* of Poona has not yet been thrown open to the general public, but the inquisitive student gets a glimpse of its treasures in the valuable selections published by the Deccan Vernacular Translation Society under the able editorship of a band of erudite scholars. The selections were made by Rao Bahadur Ganesh Chimnaji Wad, but they were published after his death. The nine volumes of *Selections from the Satara Rajas' and the Peshwas' Diaries* edited by Parasnis, Sane, Marathe and Joshi supply information about all the branches of the Peshwas' Government, their social and religious activities not excluded, as the following headings and subheadings under which the papers of the second Baji Rao's regime have been arranged will show:

1. Political Matters
2. Military Administration
    - (*i*) Army
    - (*ii*) Forts
3. Land Revenue and its administration
    - (*i*) Survey and assessment of land
    - (*ii*) Mamlatdars, Kamavisdars, Farmers of land revenue and khots
4. Other Taxes
    - Taxes on sales and purchases of things
5. Village and district Watandars
6. Other revenue officers
7. Administration of Justice
    - (*i*) Civil
    - (*ii*) Criminal
        - (*a*) Conspiracy and treason
        - (*b*) Murder and suicide
        - (*c*) Dacoity
        - (*d*) Forgery
        - (*e*) Adultery
        - (*f*) Miscellaneous offences
    - (*iii*) Police
    - (*iv*) Prison
8. Misconduct of Government officers and Jagirdars

9. Grants and continuance of Inams, Allowances, Watans, etc.
    - (*i*) Grants
        - (*a*) For service done or injury received or as a mark of favour
        - (*b*) For charitable purposes and in fulfilment of vows
10. Postal service
11. Medicine and surgery
12. Mint and coins
13. Prices and wages
14. Slaves
15. Religious and Social matters
16. Public Festivals
17. Poona and its suburbs
18. The Peshwa's tour

It is needless to add that in these selections not a single department of the Poona government has been left unillustrated and no student of the Maratha administrative system can do without these nine volumes of the *Peshwas' Diaries*. They are however not without defects as was pointed out by Mr. V. K. Rajwade. For unavoidable reasons, over which the editors had no control, some of the papers have not been published in full, and the uninitiated reader sometimes finds it difficult to grasp the purport of a mutilated record. The English summaries given in the footnote are not only very brief but sometimes hopelessly inaccurate. Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnis further drew upon the Poona records and published two more volumes in his *Itihas Sangraha*. *Peshwe Daftaratil Nivadak Kagad Patre* deals with military matters alone and *Peshwe Daftaratil Sanada Patre* throws fresh light on both the civil and the military branches of the administration. I may here add that the seven volumes of *Itihas Sangraha* abound in original records of the greatest importance.

To Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnis and Mr. P. V. Mawji we are indebted for four volumes of *Selections from the Government Records in the Alienation Office of Poona, viz., Sanads and Letters, Vatan Patre Nivad Patre, Kaifyatyadi* and *Treaties and Agreements.* Many valuable papers have been published in Parasnis's *Bharatvarsha*, Rajwade's *Marathyanchya Itihasanchi Sadhanen*, Sane's *Patre Yadi Bagaire*, the *Ahavals* and *Itivrittas* of the Bharat Itihas Sanshodhak Mandal and the *Itihas Ani Aitihasik*.

It is impossible to deal exhaustively with all the publications on this comprehensive subject within the short compass of a small chapter, but the works of the late Vasudev Shastri Vaman Shastri Khare of Miraj deserve more than a passing notice. He is by no means the only scholar to bring to light the important family papers of the Sardars and Jagirdars. K. N. Sane and V. K.

Rajwade were his predecessors in this line and Mr. Apte, the editor of the *Chandrachud Daftar* is expected to be an able successor. But neither Sane nor Rajwade deemed it necessary to arrange chronologically the papers they were going to publish. The records were placed before the public as they were discovered without any arrangement and the absence of an index only adds to the difficulties of the student who has to grope through these volumes for any particular information. Vasudeb Shastri Khare's *Aitihasik Lekha Sangraha,* the twelfth volume of which was posthumously published a few months ago, offers to the wearied reader an agreeable surprise. The records are chronologically arranged and although no index is supplied its absence is more than compensated by an excellent introduction to each section which informs the reader what the succeeding papers have to tell him. In these twelve volumes the late Pandit Khare published for the first time the important papers of the Patwardhan chiefs who served for all practical purposes as the Wardens of the Southern Marches for so many years. No less important to the student of the administrative system of the Peshwas is Khare's *Ichalkaranji Sansthancha Itihas.* A very useful compilation is Mr. Apte's *Itihas Manjari* in which almost all the more important published documents have been included.

2. *Modern Marathi Works*:

From these old records we may for a short while turn to biographical and historical works of modern Maratha scholars. The foremost place in this section must be assigned to Mr. G. S. Sardesai's *Marathi Riyasat* the fifth volume of which is shortly expected. Among the biographies may be mentioned Natu's Life of Mahadaji Sindhia, Vasudev Shastri Khare's Nana Fadnavis, Atre's Malhar Rao Holkar, Rajadhyaksha's Jivba Dada Bakshi and Parasnis's Brahmendra Swami. In the appendices of the last two works have been published some important contemporary letters not available elsewhere. Bapat's Life of the first Baji Rao is a popular work which does not aim at historical accuracy and space does not permit me to mention other works of this type. Atre's *Ganv Gada* deals with village communities and Kelkar's *Maratha va Ingraj* treats among other subjects of the administrative system.

3. *Portuguese and Persian*:

The Portuguese records, though specially important for military and the naval organisation of the Marathas, occasionally give us an insight into the religious, commercial and domestic policy of the Peshwas. The later Persian histories and Rajput Hindi, and Gurumukhi records are important to a student of the political history of the Marathas. He cannot afford to be indifferent to such works as *Siyaru-l Mutakhhirin* or *Ibratnama*, but these are not so indispensable to a student of the administrative system, though a knowledge of the Muhammadan revenue system prevailing in the neighbouring provinces is always helpful.

4. *English Sources :*

Next in importance to the Maratha records are the published and unpublished English records. To the unpublished English papers in the Imperial Records Department I can here make only a passing reference. We get there a detailed account of the Peshwa's revenue compiled by no less a personage than Elphinstone about four years before the final collapse of the Peshwa's powers. We may sometimes learn a good deal about the popular superstitions of the times from the confidential reports of the English diplomats. But for our purpose the most important document is Elphinstone's *Report on the Territories recently conquered from the Paishwa*. This is a veritable mine of information and as Elphinstone had personal knowledge of the Maratha administration, his views command our greatest respect. But unfortunately he saw the Peshwa's government at its worst and probably all his remarks were not equally applicable to the better days of Nana Fadnavis and Madhava Rao I. Jenkins's *Report on the Territories of the Rajah of Nagpore* is an official document of great interest and equally interesting is the second volume of Malcolm's *Central India.* Wellington's and Wellesley's published despatches throw only occasional sidelight on the ,administrative system of the Marathas and so do the works of those English travellers and officials who had occasion to pass through the Maratha country. Fitzclarence's *A Journey through India,* Brougthon's *Letters written in a Maratha Camp,* Moor's *A Narrative of the Operations of Capt. Little's Detachment* and Valentia's *Voyages and Travels* may be mentioned in this connection, but it is impossible to mention here all works of this nature. Forbes's *Oriental Memoirs*, however, is too important to be silently passed over. He spent the major part of his life in Western India and was a keen observer of human affairs. The Maratha records generally lay down the principles, but they do not always inform us to what extent these principles were respected in practice. This deficiency is made up by the accounts of such foreign observers as Moor and Forbes, although we have to make some allowance for their obvious bias and prejudice. For the military organisation of the Marathas we get invaluable information from such English writers as Thorn, Blacker, Prinsep, Compton and Lewis Ferdinand Smith, while a very interesting account of the Angria's navy has been supplied by Clement Dunning, whose *History of the Indian Wars* was published as early as 1737. Space does not permit me to enter into a critical examination of these works here and I can only barely mention such well-known works as Grant Duff's *History of the Mahrattas*, Forrest's *Selections from Statepapers* and Ranade's *Introduction to the Satara Rajas' and Peshwas' Diaries.*

This chapter should not be considered exhaustive. It aims to indicate the nature of the materials used in the following pages, and it is expected to be helpful to students who seek further information on the subject.

CHAPTER I

THE PERIOD OF TRANSITION

In their political aims and ideals the Peshwas differed from the founder of the Maratha greatness. Shivaji tried to organise a genuine national movement, and as the avowed leader of the regenerated Hindus of the south, he could not even in theory acknowledge the supremacy of the great Mughal. Consequently when he had to submit to the terms imposed on him by Raja Jai Singh, he got the stipulated *mansab* for his son Sambhaji, then a boy of seven, but did not degrade himself to the position of a Mughal *mansabdar*. This distinction will appear as too subtle to the modern mind, but it succeeded in soothing the easy scruples of a time when conscience was not so rigorous and exacting. After his coronation he tried his utmost to wipe off all traces of Muhammadan influence from his government and his old officers got new Sanskrit designations. Sambhaji cared only for pleasure, and during the stormy days succeeding his death, the Marathas were too busy to care for these comparatively minor things; they had to fight for their existence.

Shahu, however, was brought up by the Grand Mughal in the Mughal court. He had witnessed the splendour of that court in its palmy days, and was dazzled, hypnotised, almost blinded by the Mughal sun, the great Alamgir, whom he had seen face to face. When Shahu returned to occupy his ancestral throne, he was not in a position to appreciate the true significance of the great movement of which his celebrated grandfather was the leader. In his childhood he must have heard from his Mughal teachers that the 'mountain rat' was nothing but a powerful bandit. He could understand Shivaji the empire-builder, but Shivaji the national leader was to him an enigma, a mystery not even vaguely understood, and he did not hesitate to accept a *mansab* of 10,000 from the feeble hands of Farrukhsiyar. Shahu promised to pay to the imperial treasury an annual tribute "for the Surdeshmookhee or ten per cent. of the whole revenue, he bound himself to protect the country, to suppress every species of depredation, to bring thieves to punishment, or restore the amount stolen, and to pay the usual fee of six hundred and fifty-one per cent. on the annual income, for the hereditary right of Surdeshmookh: for the grant of the Chouth, he agreed to maintain a body of 15,000 horse in the Emperor's service to be placed at the disposal of the Soobehdars, Foujdars and officers in the different districts; but upon the grant of the Chouth, no fee was to be paid. The Carnatic and the Soobehs of Beejapoor and Hyderabad, which were then overrun by the partisans of Sumbhajee, Raja of Kolapoor, Shao promised to clear of plunderers and to make good every loss sustained by the inhabitants of those provinces from the date of the final settlement of the treaty."[1]

This arrangement was no doubt convenient to him in more than one way, but it was not merely expediency that led Shahu to make a formal acknowledgment of the Mughal supremacy when he was in a position to defy it most effectively. He was sincere in his belief in the legitimacy of the Mughal claim and it is said that Shahu protested when the Delhi Darwaja gate of Poona was built by the Peshwa, that a gate facing the north would mean defiance and insult to the Badshah. What Shahu sincerely believed, the Peshwas found most convenient to continue. Further, they actually tried to derive what advantage they could from that policy. When Malwa was conquered by Maratha arms, they did not hesitate to have their claims strengthened by an imperial grant. The celebrated Mahadaji Sindhia simply followed this traditional policy when he obtained for his master, the Peshwa, the farman of *Vakil-i-mutluq*. The great Balaji Janardan, better known as Nana Fadnavis, in his autobiography referred to the Emperor as *prithvipati*, master of the world[2]; in a letter from Ganesh Krishna, dated 1676 shaka, the Emperor is called *Sarbabhauma*[3] and the unknown author of the ballad of the battle of Kharda thought that the Emperor was still in a position to order Daulat Rao Sindhia (the Shinde left Hindustan and Guzrat and came to the south, the Badshah ordered him).[4]

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[1] Grant Duff (Oxford Edition), Vol. I, p. 334.

1. The Raja of Satara :

Next to the Emperor in status came the Raja of Satara, the lineal descendant of Shivaji, and the nominal head of the Maratha Empire. It was he who appointed the Peshwa and the other hereditary officers of state like the Pratinidhi, Sachiv, Sumanta, etc. This appointment or grant of clothes resembles in spirit the ceremony of papal coronation that the Emperors had to undergo at Rome, and was like it, nothing but a time-honoured form. This form was

[2] Nana Fadnavis's Autobiography in Sane's Patre Yadi Bagaire, p. 23.

[3] Sane, Patre Yadi Bagaire, p. 23.

[4] Kharda Ballad in Sane's Patre Yadi Bagaire, p. 36. Aurangzib is styled *Sarbabhaum* in a letter of Yesubai, wife of Sambhaji, written during her captivity in the Mughal camp. It is noteworthy that Peshwa Baji Rao I refrained from causing any harm to the Imperial metropolis when it lay at his mercy and the reasons assigned by him for this conduct clearly shows how the Marathas still respected the weak Emperor. For this interesting letter see Parasnis *Brahmendra Swami*, part II, pp. 21-31.

strictly observed so long as the Maratha Empire lasted. Even Baji Rao II, careless as he was of his Sardars' rights, could not or did not venture to do away with this formal ceremony. In his *daftar* has been found a document, an account of state expenses, which begins as follows:

"Abaji Krishna Shelukar went to Satara to bring from Shrimant Maharaj Rajashri Chhatrapati Swami, the clothes of peshwaship for Rajashri Baji Rao Raghunath Rao and brought the clothes on the 3rd Jamadilakhar."[5] It should be noted here that unlike the Pope, the Chhatrapati Maharaj raised no trouble about granting his sanction to the authority already seized, even if the grantees were usurpers. Thus Raghunath Rao, Chimnaji Raghunath transformed by Parashram Bhau Patwardhan into Chimnaji Madhava, and Vinayak Rao, son of Amrit Rao, had no difficulty in getting the clothes of peshwaship, although they could not retain the authority which they aspired to, or (as in the case of Chimnaji) which was thrust on an unwilling victim of state conspiracy. In the case of the other chiefs, the hereditary successors of the members of Shivaji's Ashta Pradhan Council, the saranjam or jagir was invariably granted by the Peshwas, but they were either referred to the state prisoner at Satara for grant of clothes of their office, or this mark of royal sanction was procured for them by the Peshwa's agent. Thus Madava Rao I writes to Achyut Rao Ganesh (1762-1763) that "the pratinidhiship as before has been granted to Shrinivas Pandit and he has been accordingly sent to the Raja to receive clothes of honour."[6]

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[5] Peshwas' Diaries, Vol. V, Baji Rao II, p. 14.

Similarly when Parashram Shrinivas succeeded his father, a similar letter was written by the second Madhava Rao to Babu Rao Krishna (1777-78). "The command of God has reached Shrinivas Pandit Pratinidhi (*i.e.*, he is dead), the clothes of the post have to be given to his son; clothes of honour, a head-dress and arms, have therefore been sent with Sadashiv Anant; request the Shrimant Maharaj Rajashri Swami to give the aforesaid personage the Pratinidhi's dress of honour."[7] And with this recommendation were also sent a dress of honour, a head-dress and arms to be given to the nominee; perhaps in consideration of the poverty of the Raja. The same Peshwa had again to write three letters to Krishna Rao Anant, Babu Rao Krishna and Nilkantha Rao at Satara in connection with the appointment of Jivan Rao Viththal to the office of Sumanta (1785-86), requesting them to procure a dress of honour and a sanad for his watan and saranjam, although the newly-appointed officer had already got both sanad and dress of honour from the Peshwa.[8] But Madhava Rao II apparently did not consult the Raja's pleasure when Ramchandra Raghunath was appointed Pandit Rao.[9] Baji Rao II, however, did not omit to procure a dress of honour for the new incumbent to the Sachiv's post when the old Sachiv Shankar Rao Pandit died (1799-1800), and was succeeded by his adopted son Chimnaji Shankar. "A letter to Krishna Rao Narayan to the effect that the command of God reached Sankar Rao Pandit Sachiv, father of Chimnaji Shankar, in the year Tisa Tisen. The latter was adopted by the Sachiv in his lifetime. Therefore the Surnis's dress of honour is to be given to him according to the old custom. A separate list of the clothes of honour is sent. Accordingly you should request the Maharaja and deliver the dress of honour to Krishnaji Bhagavant, a Karkun sent from the Sarkar. The latter will hand it over to Chimnaji Shankar."[10] Two letters of the

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[6] Peshwas' Diaries, Vol. IX, Madhava Rao I, p. 110

[7] Peshwas' Diaries, Vol. IV, p. 158.

[8] "In the year Tisa Sabain, Jivan Rao Viththal got the watan and saranjam of the office of Sumanta with the customary dress of honour. Then a letter was written to you to request Shrimant Maharaj Rajashri Chhatrapati to give the Sumanta's dress of honour to Jivan Rao and to get the sanad of the watan and saranjam of that office in his name: upon that a dress of honour was given to him. A sanad was to be procured but that was not done; therefore this letter is now sent; please give him a sanad for the saranjam and watan he is enjoying." Peshwas' Diaries, Vol. IV, p. 177.

[9] Peshwas' Diaries, Vol. IV, p. 176.

[10] Peshwas' Diaries, Vol. V, p. 77.

second Madhava Rao addressed to the Bhonsle of Nagpore clearly show that, jealous as that chief was of the Peshwa's authority, he also could not think of dispensing with royal sanction of his succession to the hereditary dominions.

"A letter to Shivaji Bhonsle Sena Saheb Subha; Shrimant Maharaj Rajashri Chhatrapati Swami being kindly disposed towards you, has appointed you Sena Saheb Subha and has given the dress of honour and jewels of that office with a shield, a sword, a seal and an elephant. These presents have been sent to you; accept them on an auspicious day" (1774-75).[11] "To Raghuji Bhonsle Sena Saheb Subha: you have been appointed Sena Saheb Subha by the order of the Shrimant Maharaj Rajashri Chhatrapati Swami; you should, therefore, serve the government with devotion and carry on the administration of your province and army" (1779-80).[12]

Although the vanity of being addressed by the Peshwa for sanads and dresses of honour was still left to him, the position of the Raja of Satara was worse than miserable. Perhaps the meanest of the Maratha Sardars would not have liked to change place with him. An organic part of the state, he had not the ordinary right of an ordinary man of dismissing and appointing his servants. He had the mortification of seeing his household controlled by an officer of the Peshwa. Even his *khijmatgars* were appointed and sent from Poona. Five khijmatgars were sent to fort Satara[13] for service with the Maharaja by Madhava Rao I in 1767-68.

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[11] P. D., Vol. IV, p. 196.

[12] P. D., Vol. IV, p. 198.

His personal attendants applied for promotion or increase in remuneration, not to him but to the Peshwa. Sometimes, when in blissful oblivion of his position, he issued orders of arrest or imprisonment, he ran the risk of undergoing the humiliation of seeing them countermanded. In the year 1797-98, Ganesh Anant and Babu Rao Krishna were arrested in connection with some disturbance that took place in the fort of Satara. The former was fined, the latter was imprisoned with his family and his property was attached. On an appeal to the Peshwa, the order was set aside and they were restored to their former offices.[14]

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[13] P. D., Vol. IX, p. 53.

[14] "Krishnaji Anant Karkun, fort Satara, informs the Huzur that some disturbance took place in the aforesaid fort last year, when some people misrepresented facts to Shrimant Maharaj Rajashri Chhatrapati Swami and his brother Ganesh Anant, an employee in the fort, was imprisoned and money was taken from him......Therefore do not take money from him and no dunning should be made for payment. He had not got his salary for the year samanu tisen, pay that. Formerly two men from the shibandi (force) of the fort worked under him. Therefore appoint two men to work under him and obtain, as before, the work from his hand and give him his salary." "Last year a disturbance took place in the fort of Satara. Then Shrimant Maharaj Rajashri Chhatrapati imprisoned Babu Rao Krishna and his family and attached his house and Inam village. Detailed

This humiliating subordination was not compensated by plenty, and to the unfortunate puppet was not granted even the mean satisfaction of forgetting his imprisonment in the midst of luxury and pomp. The account of his household was checked with more scrutiny perhaps than that of any department of the Peshwa's government. Strict regulations were framed even about such minute details as the grains required for the Raja's stables.[15] The Chhatrapati lacked even the very necessities of a middle class Maratha with a slender income. We learn from a document of Madhava Rao I's time that the Maharaja had not even a garden for growing green vegetables, and that excellent prince ordered that a garden suitable for vegetables should be given him. The same paper goes on to say that the Maharaja had no pasture ground for his horses either.[16] Madhava Rao I also sanctioned an allowance of Rs. 80 per month for two dancing girls, Hira and Achhi by name, for the singing

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items about the removal of the attachment (then follows)." Peshwa's Diaries, Vol. V, pp. 4-5. The disturbance probably took place in connection with the Raja's attempt to assert his independence in 1798 at the instigation of Nana Fadnavis.

[15] Venkoji Mankeshwar and Vishnu Narhar are informed that requisition for the grain required for horses in the Raja's stable should be made every day. In making the requisition the number of horses newly arrived and that of horses sent away should be taken into consideration. The Huzur has come to know that instead of doing that you get from the Pratinidhi grain for eight days at a time. Peshwa's Diaries, Vol. IX, p. 51.

[16] P.D., Vol. IX, pp. 53-54.

establishment of his so-called master and an allowance was made for the fattening diet of a pet leopard.[17]

Madhava Rao II or his chief adviser was not so indulgent. Although he appointed Nimbaji Pawar on a salary of Rs. 12, every two months, for training the Raja's son in the art of fencing,[18] and granted saranjam to each of the two queens and to each of their two daughters, he refused to grant a sum adequate for the repair of an aqueduct which conveyed water to the palace of Satara. It was represented that two or three thousand rupees would be necessary for the work, but the Peshwa did not grant more than Rs. 800. It may be objected that perhaps the agent at Satara had over-estimated the necessary cost and the Peshwa naturally reduced it to a more reasonable amount, but we do not observe the same attitude so far as his other grants and expenses were concerned.[19] The poor Maharaja, however could not do without praying to the Peshwa. So poor and helpless was he, that although about four years had elapsed since his marriage, he could not make the customary present of land to his sister until a grant of sixty bighas had been made for that purpose by the Peshwa in 1782-83.[30]

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[17] P.D., Vol. IX, p. 55.

[18] P.D., Vol. IV, p. 34.

[19] To Krishna Rao Anant : a pipe conveys water to the palace of Satara from Yavateshwar ; it is damaged at different places ; two to three thousand Rupees will be necessary for repairing it. You have written to Sadashiv Anant to request for the grant of the above sum from the Sarkar. He accordingly prayed for the grant, but it will not be convenient to give so much. But as the work is urgent, a grant of Rs. 800 is made for repairing the pipe. P.D., Vol. IV, p. 34.

Poor and powerless as he was, the Raja of Satara was a political factor of no mean importance. Though slighted in private, he was honoured in public. The Peshwas and other chiefs paid *nazar* to him and to his relatives whenever they went to pay their respects to the Chhatrapati or when the king was pleased to honour them with a royal visit in their camp. Large sums were spent on occasions likely to attract public notice. When a son was born to queen Anandi Bai, the eldest wife of the reigning Raja (1792-93), Madhava Rao II ordered Rs. 1,000 to be spent for distribution of sugar and other ceremonies. In 1807-8 the Peshwa granted Rs. 25,000 for the funeral obsequies of Raja Shahu. In the same year more than Rs. 8,000 was spent at the time of the new king's coronation, and the Peshwa Baji Rao II ordered 100 shots to be fired from a cannon to celebrate that occasion. In 1809-10 more than Rs. 17,000 was spent on the occasion of the royal marriage and some other ceremonies of minor importance. The servants and relatives of the king were exempted from taxes and customs duties, and sometimes a small pension in the form of land or cash was granted to his near relatives.[21]

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[30] Maharaja Rajashri Chhatrapati Swami married twice, but his sister Saubhagyavati Santubai Mahadik did not get on those occasions the customary present of Karavali-pan. Therefore a new inam of 60 Bighas in all (½ a Chavar of 1st, 2nd, and 3rd class land) is made to her with all dues and rights assigned to it. P.D., Vol. IV, p. 37.

To keep up appearances in public, Satara was allowed to enjoy comparative security in the midst of military depredation and public plunder. William Henry Tone, an Irish officer in the service of Baji Rao Raghunath, observes in his *Letter to an Officer on the Madras Establishment* (published 1799). "The country circumjacent to Sattarah enjoys an exemption from military depredations of all kinds; and whenever any chief enters this district, all the ensigns of royalty are laid aside, and the nagara or the great drum of the empire ceases to beat."

Twice had Nana Fadnavis attempted to bring the peculiar political position of the Raja of Satara into use, and twice he failed. When Mahadaji Sindhia, jealous of Nana's influence at the Peshwa's court, and perhaps with an ulterior object of putting himself at the head of the Maratha empire with the Peshwa as a useful and convenient puppet in his hands,

[21] For the family of Narsingh Rao Guzar, brother-in law of Shrimant Rajashri Chhatrapati Swami, an annual pension of Rs. 1,000 has been granted. Out of that, a village of an income of Rs. 500 has to be given., The remaining Rs. 500 are to be paid from Satara (1783-84), P. D., Vol. IV, p. 38. Shrimant Khatriyakulavatansa Maharaj Rajashri Chhatrapati Swami's relatives and servants are enjoying inam and saranjam. Pressure has been put on them for cesses owing to varat from the Sarkar. This letter is written to you exempting them from the cess now. Therefore do not press them for payment.

had procured for Madhava Rao II the high-sounding and lengthy title of *Vakil-i-Mutluq Amirul-Umara Mutkhar-ul-Mumalik Madarul-maham Maslatlajat Umedwara Kinkhis Fat Far Wafadar Shirdsakar Sadatmand Bajyadebam Farjand Khas-ul-Khas Makja Maharajadhiraj Rao Pandit Pradhan Bahadur*, Nana pointed out that the Peshwa could not, as a servant of the Raja of Satara, assume the title of Maharajadhiraj. But the problem was easily solved, as it was not very difficult for Sindhia to procure the gracious consent of their royal master. Again after the suicide of Madhava Rao II, Nana had for a moment indulged himself in the idea of re-establishing the authority of the House of Shivaji, but the impracticability of the scheme was apparent. The claims of the Raja were recognised by the English government after the fall of the Peshwa; and while the last Peshwa was pensioned off, the descendant of Shivaji was re-installed as a ruling chief. We may now leave him in the temporary enjoyment of power and plenty and turn to the real head of the Maratha confederacy—the Peshwa.

2. *The Peshwa*:

Here again theory and practice did not agree. Originally the Peshwa was only a member of the Ashta Pradhan Council of Shivaji; he was one of the eight pradhans or ministers of state. The post was not even hereditary, as in Shivaji's time officers were frequently transferred from one post to another. Balaji Vishwanath Bhat was the seventh Peshwa; a glance at the list of his predecessors in that post will at once show that only in one case a father (Moro Trimbak Pingle) was succeeded by his son[22] (Nilkanth Moreshwar). In theory, therefore, the other pradhans had every reason to regard the Peshwa as their equal. Nay, as Justice Ranade points out, he was even inferior in rank to at least one of them. "In the official order of precedence," says Ranade, "the Peshwa was a smaller functionary than the Pant Pratinidhi, whose office was created by Rajaram at Jinji, and Pralhad Niraji was made vicegerent of the Raja. The fixed salary of the Pratinidhi was 15,000 Hons, while for the Peshwa the salary was fixed at 13,000 Hons."[23] Balaji Vishwanath by his ability and statesmanship not only succeeded in making the Peshwaship hereditary in his family, but he and his more famous son Baji Rao I made the Peshwa's position superior to the other seven, and actually became what the Pratinidhi ought to have been, the vicegerent of the king. Baji Rao's position was further strengthened when his policy of expansion towards the north was accepted by Chhatrapati Shahu in preference to the opposite policy of southern conquest championed by the Pratinidhi. The Peshwa became the head of the Maratha Empire in name as well as in reality when Shahu appointed Balaji Baji Rao and Govinda Rao Chitnis, joint guardians of his successor, a minor. Tarabai helped to put the finishing touch to the Peshwa's work by .imprisoning Ram Raja in the fort of Satara and thus preparing a perpetual prison for her own dynasty. This transfer of authority from the master to the servant was so gradually, silently, carefully accomplished, that the successive steps, important as they were in relation to the whole move, escaped all contemporary notice. Scott-Waring very pertinently remarks that "the usurpation of the Peshwas neither attracted observation, nor excited surprise. Indeed the transition was easy, natural, and progressive."[24]

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[22] The first six Peshwas were (1) Shamraj Nilkanth Rozekar, (2) Moro Trimbak Pingle, (3) Nilkanth Moreshwar Pingle, (4) Parashram Trimbak Pratinidhi, (5) Bahiro Moreshwar Pingle, and (6) Balkrishna Vasudev.

[23] Ranade, The Miscellaneous Writings, p. 345.

The Marathas had long been familiar with delegated authority. During Shivaji's absence in Northern India, the Government was carried on by a small council of regency of which Jijabai was the acknowledged head. It was notorious that Sambhaji did not care to look after the affairs of the state and although the royal authority was never formally delegated to anybody during his short reign, Kalusha, his favourite, did in fact rule the kingdom with his master's consent and tacit approval. After Sambhaji's death and Shahu's capture, Rajaram became the ostensible head of the Maratha people, but he also permitted two of his officers to conduct the government as they liked. Ramchandra Pant Hukamatpanha, placed as he was, far from Jinji, where his master then resided, had no other alternative but to carry on the civil and military affairs of the country without waiting for his master's opinion. But even at Jinji, Rajaram resigned his authority to the able hands of Pralhad Niraji. Thus the Bhat Peshwas had in their favour a series of important and well known precedents. At Kolhapur during the minority of Sambhaji II, Ramchandra Pant continued to be the real head of the state. And things were not much different at Satara during the closing years of Shahu. The King lost his reason more than once. The empire had expanded far and wide and the weak old man, never used to exertion and industry, found it necessary to leave the reins of the state entirely in the hands of the young, energetic, and ambitious Peshwa. The Marquis of Alorna, Viceroy and Governor-General of the Portuguese Estate in India, regarded him as a mere phantom, an idol, worshipped but not always obeyed by his subjects.

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[24] Scott-Waring, p. 169.

This does not signify that Shahu Chhatrapati was a mere puppet in the hands of his powerful ministers and unconsciously left his successor a victim to the ambitious intrigues of a Konkanastha Brahman. Shahu was not altogether a weakling. His ability like that of Charles II of England has been considerably underestimated by posterity. A state prisoner while still an infant, brought up as he was in the midst of the luxury and corruption of a Mughal court, we cannot expect from Shahu, the hardihood and untiring activity of his famous grandfather, or the careless bravery which characterised his licentious father even to the last moment. But he had inherited to a considerable extent the administrative qualities of the great Shivaji and he *ruled* as well as reigned. Here again we may profitably quote that great Maratha savant, Mahadev Govind Ranade: "In the forty years of rule enjoyed by Shahu, he was not merely a titular head of the Maratha Government; but he directed all operations, ordered and recalled Commanders, and he exercised a great controlling power on the chiefs, though he led no armies in the field. It was due to his efforts that Gujarath was divided between the Peshwa and the Dabhades or Gaikwads in equal halves after the battle of Dabhoi. When Balaji Baji Rao wanted to invade Bengal, Raghoji Bhosale protested at Satara, and Shahu was strong enough to enforce moderation even over the towering ambition of Balaji, and forced him to leave the Eastern provinces of India free for the development of the Bhosale's power. Baji Rao was only a general under Shahu, and the Pratinidhis, Bhosales, Nimbalkars, Dabhades, Gaikwads, Kadambandes, Angres, Ghorpades, all respected his orders."[33]

Why Shahu made the Peshwa his heir's guardian it is not very difficult to guess. He had no issue of his own. Sambhaji of Kolhapur was the probable successor. Shahu had no reason to be favourably disposed towards his Kolhapur rival. Eventually a young prince of the Kolhapur branch was discovered, whose boyhood, to say the least, was obscure and who was rightly or wrongly regarded as an impostor by the enemies of the Peshwa. It is quite natural that Shahu did not feel the same zeal for transmitting the royal prerogatives undiminished to an unknown boy about whose identity sinister whispers were made, as he would have felt for keeping untarnished all the divine rights of royalty for an heir of his body. On the other hand he knew the ability of his ministers. He had known them long. The family had served him for three generations, and constant association must have produced a natural attachment, and Shahu had probably nominated Balaji Baji Rao a guardian of the young Raja as a reward for good service, knowing fully well that the reward was well-deserved and the power was vested in able hands. Govinda Rao's incompetence or indifference, Tarabai's ambition, and Ram Raja's weakness gradually led to the promotion of the Peshwa to the real headship of the empire. In any case it secured the continuity of the royal line. Shahu's successors were all weaklings, and but for this transfer of authority: a revolution was bound to follow sooner or later, resulting in the deposition of the family in name as well as in reality. It is to be noted that the dynasty of the Mikados was also preserved from the possible consequences of weakness and incompetence, by the rise of the Shogunate, an institution quite analogous to the Peshwaship.

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[33] Ranade, The Miscellaneous Writings, pp. 348-49.

3. *The Religious Head of the State* :

Here it should be noted that the Chhatrapati Maharaj was not only the political but also the ecclesiastical head (if we are allowed to use that term) of the state. This has to be remembered as we shall afterwards find the Peshwas frequently regulating social and religious affairs. Because the Peshwas happened to be Brahmans it may be wrongly supposed that they derived this authority from their Brahman birth. This was not the case. The rise of Shivaji was preceded by a revival of Hinduism in the south; and according to Hindu notions, the king is not only the chief magistrate of the state, but the principal regulator of social custom and the protector of religion as well. Cases regarding social custom and religion were generally referred to the Pandit Rao for direction by the Chhatrapatis, but it seems that the Brahman officers had for the sake of legal completion to procure the Non-Brahman Raja's sanction for the order passed in his name. A document dated March 16th, 1686, relates how when one Gangadhar Raghunath Kulkarni, a Brahman, who had been converted into Muhammadanism, and who had, though involuntarily and for a very short time to dine with the Muhammadans, applied for readmission into his caste after the performance of a prayashchitta, the Chhandogyamatya had to acquaint Sambhaji with the circumstances of the case and take the royal permission for the formal penance.[26] So the Peshwas exercised this authority as the authorised deputies of the Chhatrapati, and had inherited it with other royal prerogatives from Shahu. Within the territories under their direct rule the Peshwas were like the Chhatrapatis before them, the sole depository of the sovereign authority of the state in all its modern significance.

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[26] Rajwade, M.I.S., Vol. VIII, p. 36, D. 40.

4. The Consequence of the Rise of the Peshwas :

The rise of the Peshwa affected Maratha history in two ways. It destroyed the solidarity of the constitution which Shivaji's Ashta Pradhan Council was expected to maintain and it at once created two distinct classes of Sardars in the Maratha Empire. The Peshwas could, if they liked, suffer the Council to exist, and preside over its deliberations as the deputy of the Chhatrapati. But their ambition led them to establish an autocratic government removing at the same time the only bond of union, the only check to selfish individualism, and setting the ominous example of independence which henceforth became the only ambition of old Sardars like the Angrias, Bhonsles and the Gaikwads to imitate. The result was that the Maratha Empire ultimately became like the Holy Roman Empire, a loose confederacy of ambitious feudal chiefs, and the Peshwa, like the Emperor, gradually descended to the position of the head of a confederacy whose command was met with scant respect, and whose authority was confined within the territories under his direct personal rule.

5. *The Old and the New Aristocracy* :

Some distinction between the old and the new aristocracy in question of precedence was bound to arise after the promotion of the Peshwa. The old nobility regarded the Peshwa as their equal. They obeyed him only as the deputy of the king, while the new nobility, the Sindhia, the Holkar, the Rastias were the Peshwa's servants. They regarded the Peshwa as the master whose bread they ate and whom they were bound to serve. Their sentiment is voiced by Nana Fadnavis when he says in his autobiography: 'we have long eaten his bread and he has favoured us as his children' and again 'this body is grown on his bread.'[47] These Sardars, therefore, were at first more amenable to discipline and obeyed the Peshwa without reluctance. The old Sardars, however, expected the Peshwa to remember that any respect that might be shown to him was a matter of courtesy and not of right, and that he in his turn should in courtesy return it. The Angria, for example, expected the Peshwa to come two miles from Poona to receive him on his visit to that city. It was also expected that the Peshwa should dismount on his approach and receive him on a *gasha* (an embroidered cloth) and then accompany him to his (Peshwa's) residence, always keeping on the left side of the visitor and after he has taken the betel leaf at his place, send him to the residence appointed for his use and send a dinner also. And in the hall of public audience the Angria expected the Peshwa to rise to receive him and then sit on the same galicha.[28] The Jadhava Rao also claimed similar privileges[29] and the Peshwa found it convenient to gratify their vanity by celebrating the occasion of the Jadhava Rao's visit to the Peshwa's palace by releasing prisoners.[30] As a logical consequence of this idea the old Sardars claimed precedence over the new Sardars in the field of battle. If the Bhonsle of Nagpur and the Sindhia of Gwalior were both present in the battle field, the Bhonsle would demand the chief command as a matter of right.

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[47] Nana's Autobiography in Sane's Patre Yadi Bagaire, p. 88.

6. *The Structure of the Government :*

During the Peshwa period the feudal barons, both new and old, exercised sovereign authority within their fiefs, although the Peshwa had the prerogative of appointing their chief officers. The Dewans of the Gaikwad, the Holkar, and

[28] Kaifiyata Yadis, ed. Mawji and Parasnis, p. 24.

[29] Kaifiyata Yadis, p. 54.

[30] Kaifiyata Yadis, p. 56.

Shrimant Nana Saheb Peshwa (*i.e.*, Balaji Baji Rao) addressed Balaji Jadhava Rao as Kaka, the prisoners in the government prison were released in honour of his visit to the government house.

the Sindhia were always appointed by the Peshwa, but all of them claimed uncontrolled exercise of sovereign rights.[31] Thus says the Jadhava Rao, " The management of Malegaon, where we live, has been always with us; the Sarkar has no authority over it." [32]

The Supekar Pawars also claim the same right of managing their saranjam without any interference from the Peshwa.[33] Numerous other instances could be cited of similar claims. The villages over which these Sardars ruled, were self-contained units, and their democratic institutions remained unaffected and undisturbed till the lax supervision of the Peshwa's government was replaced by the more centralised and more efficient administration of the English. A detailed description of the village institutions, we should postpone for the present and try to understand the general structure of the Maratha government.

At the head of the government was the Peshwa who had power to act as the deputy of the Satara Raja. He was therefore the head of the feudal nobles and one of them at the same time. The feudal nobles rendered military service in return for their fiefs or saranjams and were independent rulers in everything but name. The villages in Maharashtra proper, however, were managed by their own officers under the supervision of the Saranjami's agents. Thus the whole constitution was a curious combination of democracy and feudal autocracy. In fact no single term of political philosophy can be applied to it. Unable to call it a monarchy, aristocracy or democracy, Tone calls it a Military Republic. This is true only in one sense that the meanest soldier, if he had ability, could logically expect to be a Sardar of the empire. The empire itself, as Tone points out, was based, not upon confidence, but jealousy; and incapable of a comprehensive policy of national patriotism which had been the aim of Shivaji, fell to pieces when it came into conflict with a nation which combined individual self-sacrifice with national ambition.

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[31] Some of the new Sardars were descendants of the relatives or friends of Balaji Vishwanath. Thus Vishwanath Bhat Mehendale was Balaji Vishwanath's sister's son and Ambaji Tryambak Purandare his friend.

[32] Kaifiyats Yadis, p. 54.

[33] Kaifiyats Yadis, p. 78.

CHAPTER II

VILLAGE COMMUNITIES

In the administration of his home provinces the Peshwa was a despot but not a tyrant. Like the benevolent despots of contemporary Europe, he was the head of a paternal government anxious to secure plenty, if not peace, for the governed. He was ready to do everything for them, and, unlike his fellow rulers in Europe, also allowed many things to be done by them. Yet in theory as well as in practice, his prerogatives were such as his European brethren might well have sighed for. Like them he was the head of the state, and unlike them he was the head of the 'church' as well (the word church cannot be strictly applied to the Indian institution, but for want of a better word it may be used here in a modified sense). With all these powers and prerogatives at their command the Peshwa might have aspired to a centralised despotism as Louis XIV had established in France; but their native good sense (with one unfortunate exception, that of Baji Rao II) always told them how far they would be tolerated by the independent spirit of the

Maratha peasant and it told them also where to stop. The Maratha peasant, unlike his brother of Bengal, was not the timid creature ready to submit to all sorts of tyranny and even to kiss the foot that kicked. Elphinstone was struck by the independence of spirit and easy manner with which they met the English officers after the annexation of the Peshwa's territories to the British dominions. Although there could be no doubt about their loyalty to the established government of the country, they would not easily part with the rights and privileges enjoyed by their ancestors. A Maratha would go to any extreme to save his watan, and the Peshwas had to take this fact into consideration in regulating their policy of home administration. With an exhausted treasury and always in debt, the Peshwas had to remember that their ultimate chance of reaching a financial equilibrium lay in the material prosperity of their country and the policy of developing the commercial resources of the Maratha dominions inaugurated by Shivaji from patriotic motives was continued by the Peshwas from consideration of expediency. Consequently the Maratha plunderer is absent in the Maratha administrator; or to be more accurate, he appears in another character, different in form but not in reality. His motives in plundering his enemy was the same that led him to protect his own land. The Maratha warrior like all other warriors in all ages, wanted to weaken his enemy and strengthen his own resources. Consequently, whenever they annexed a new province they tried their utmost to improve its agriculture and industries and secure, so far as it was possible under the circumstances of the times, the material prosperity of the people. In this respect all the feudal states were similar with only some local variations that can be dismissed as of minor importance, and the Peshwa's government can be regarded as the type of them all.

1. Village Communities :

It has already been pointed out that allowance had to be made for the spirit of independence of the Maratha peasants and the Peshwa had to leave undisturbed what they thought were their ancestral rights. The village communities were allowed to administer their own affairs under the paternal and lax supervision of a set of government officers. The work of these officers again was supervised by the officers of *Huzur Daftar* supposed to be under the direct control of the Peshwa through his Karbhari. At the top of the system was therefore this daftar or secretariat, and at its base were the village communities. For convenience, we will discuss separately how the daftar and the village communities worked, and how the tiny states at the base were connected with the daftar at the top by a chain of hereditary and non-hereditary government officials.

"In whatever point of view," says Elphinstone, "we examine the native goverment in the Deccan, the first and the most important feature is the division into villages or townships. These communities contain, in miniatures, all the materials of a state within themselves and are almost sufficient to protect their members, if all other governments were withdrawn." But it is not their complete autonomy that makes the study of these village communities so interesting to the modern student. When mediæval India distracted by selfish wars and court intrigues, presents an unbroken array of gaudy pictures in red and black only, these small villages in Maharashtra not only furnish us with instances of republican institutions, but also give evidence of the existence of democratic principles to a greater or less extent. Even in those days of caste prejudice, the Brahman and Non-Brahman served on the village panch. The balutas or village artisans, so much looked down upon from the caste point of view, were consulted as a matter of right. It seems that their signature was also thought necessary for authenticity of a bond of loan or other legal documents. In a statement in connection with a dispute regarding a *Loharki* (blacksmith's) watan (Shivaji *wd.*

Tanhaji and others, *vs*. Satvaji (1763-64), occurs the following:

"From that time he does the work of the blacksmith and takes baluta (a share of grain from each villager in the harvest time due to the balutas—barber, washerman, carpenter, blacksmith, etc.), and puts his signature on the documents as the blacksmith, but he is not the owner of the blacksmith's watan."[1] When any dispute arose about the ownership of land or watan the case was either decided by the village panch or referred to them for decision, or the village artisans and village officers were summoned to give evidence before the Peshwas' court. Orders of attachment of property in a village were sometimes addressed to the village community, and not to the officers alone. In 1750-51 during the administration of Balaji Baji Rao a sanad attaching a disputed watan was addressed to Jagthap, owner of half the Mokdam watan and the village community of Ambale.[2] In fact these small villages acted each as a unit, and were recognised by the Peshwas as such.

2. *The Patil*:

The chief man in the village was the Patil. He was the chief revenue officer, the chief Police Magistrate, and he united in him the function of the chief judicial officer also. He acted as an intermediary between the villagers and the Peshwa's officer and served as a link between the village and the suzerain state. In the village he had the advantage of acting as the exponent of the Peshwa's authority, and before the Kamavisdar or the Mamlatdar he appeared as the authorised representative of his village. As the officer responsible for revenue collection, he was consulted by the Kamavisdar at the time of assessment; if the assessment was too high, he had the right to protest, and in case the Kamavisdar still remained obstinate, the Patil could bring him to reason by leaving the village and making any collection whatever impossible. That they actually had recourse to this step in extreme cases can be proved by a letter, dated 1773-74. It runs: "A sanad to Gopal Rao Bhagwant Kamavisdar, Pargana Indapur. The *kharif* and *rabi* crops of the aforesaid Pargana failed owing to drought. The Patils wanted a new inspection of the fields to be made and the rate of rent revised accordingly; and they retired to Tenbhurni (to enforce their claim). You wrote that they should be brought back and an inspection of fields made, and collection made accordingly" (1773-74 Madhava Rao II).[3] The prayer was granted in this case. Another document says that "The

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[1] P.D., Vol. VII, p. 137.

[2] P.D., Vol. II, p. 11.

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[3] P.D., Vol. VI, p. 230.

Zamindars and Patils of Taluk Shivner, being dissatisfied, left their place and went to Kasba Ale. A Karkun was sent to them and they made known their grievances. You sent a written account of these grievances to the Huzur and they were as follows."[4] It is needless to say that in this case also the Patils succeeded in making their grievances heard and in getting them redressed. On another occasion (1775-76) the Patils of Pargana Sinnar succeeded in compelling the Kamavisdar to accept the Zamindars as sureties for the cultivation of land and payment of revenue.[5] But it was only in extreme cases that the Patil had recourse to this extreme measure. Generally they would represent their case to the Peshwa as did the Patil and Kulkarni of Mauja Rajapur, Pargana Wan.[6]

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[4] P.D., Vol. VI, p. 227.

[5] Antaji Krishna Kamavisdar of Pargana Sinnar was informed that owing to his refusal to accept the Zamindars as sureties for the cultivation of land and payment of revenue, the Patils of villages absented themselves from their villages and loss of revenue had resulted thereby. He was, therefore, directed to ask them to stand security. P.D., Vol. VI, p. 321.

[6] The Jagir Amal of the village of Rajapur in Pargana Wan, belonged to Government and the Mokasa, Babti and Sardeshmukhi Amal to the Pant Pratinidhi. The Kamavisdar over-assessed the village without taking into account the actual condition of cultivation, and in consequence of this as well as of scarcity, the villages became very poor. Therefore the Patil and the Kulkarni of the village came to the Huzur and represented that arrangement should be made from the Sarkar. Therefore, the work of cultivation of the aforesaid Mauja is entrusted to you. Therefore have the village cultivated and realise the rent wit care. P.D., Vol. VI, p. 220.

As a judicial officer it was the Patil's duty to induce the parties in a suit to come to an amicable settlement, and if amicable settlement or arbitration failed, to appoint a Panchayet.[7]

As a police officer, he enquired into cases of theft and robbery and had under him the village watchmen.

The Patil was, however, not an elected officer, nor could he be appointed by the government. His was a hereditary office which could be sold and purchased ; and sometimes under pressure for money, unable to retain, yet reluctant to part with all the rights and perquisites of his office, the Patil disposed of some of them by sale and retained others. Thus there could be more than one Patil in a village. When the Patilship was enjoyed by several members of the family, the elder branch always enjoyed some additional privileges known as *wadilpan* or rights of seniority. Although not a very important point, yet it may be incidentally mentioned here that the Patil was seldom a Brahman ; Muhammadan Patils were by no means rare.

3. *The Patil's Rights and Perquisites :*

The village magistrate, though very useful to the Peshwa's administration, was not paid by him. It is by the villagers that he was paid, and the items of his remuneration would be quite interesting to a modern reader. In the year 1653 (Shaka) half the Patilki watan of Bhangaon in Pargana Karde of Sarkar Junnar in Subha Khujaste Buniyad was sold for Rs. 7,751 by Bangoji Kudanda to Gorkhoji Bhapkar. Bangoji sold his watan with wadilpan or seniority-rights and retained the rest of the rights and perquisites of the office for himself In the deed of sale we find a detailed description of all the rights and perquisites of a Patilki watan. Bangoji also carefully recounts the occasions when Gorkhoji was to have precedence over the original owner. Detailed items of these Manpan and Hakks are given below :

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[7] B. I. S. M. Tritiya Sammelan Vritta, p. 51.

1. All documents to be signed, first by Gorkhoji and then by Bangoji.

2. Present to Government should be made by Gorkhoji and not by Bangoji.

3. Shirpav and betel leaves from government should be received first by Gorkhoji and then by Bangoji.

4. In the Pola procession Gorkhoji's bullock should go first and Bangoji's behind it through the village gate.

5. The Mang and Mahar should tie the *toran* and give red paint first in Gorkhoji's house and then in Bangoji's.

6. On the occasion of the Dewali festivals the band should be played first at Gorkhoji

Patil's house and then in Bangoji Patil's. The Koli should pour water first at Gorkhoji Patil's house and then at Bangoji Patil's.

6. Gorkhoji's Ganesh and Gaur procession should come first and stop at Durga Mata, then Bangoji's Ganesh and Gaur procession should come there. In the joint procession Gorkhoji's gods should go first and Bangoji's behind them.

7. The Holi cake to be brought and presented to the Holi first by Bangoji and then by Gorkhoji. At the Dasra time, the music should be first played at Bangoji's and then at Gorkhoji's house. The Mali of the village should bring flowers, and the Gurav should bring *vavri* to Bangoji's house first and then to Gorkhoji's.

8. At the Dasra time Bangoji should first worship the Apta plant and Gorkhoji next.

9. Bangoji's Shiralshet procession should come with music first and stop. Gorkhoji's procession should then come with music, and the two processions should then jointly proceed. In the joint procession Bangoji's should have precedence over Gorkhoji's.

10. Betel leaves and *tilak* from the village should be given to Bangoji first and to Gorkhoji next.

The Brahman is to conduct the Tulsipuja on the Kartik Ekadashi day at Bangoji's house first and then at Gorkhoji's.

The Harijagran of the Kartik Amabasya Pratipad should first be performed by Bangoji Patil and then by Gorkhoji on the next day.

The Mahar should supply a bundle of fuel first at Bangoji Patil's house and then at Gorkhoji's.

When ploughing is done, permission should be taken by the Kulkarni from both the Mokdams.

Equal rights to be enjoyed by both :

1. The Patil's Shelpati dues of 1½ maunds per boat-load of grain.
2. Twenty-five bundles of jawar stick from each cultivator.
3. Five seers of cotton from each field.
4. One bundle of jawar from each cultivator.
5. Two pairs of shoes per year from the shoemaker.
6. One bundle of green fodder from each cultivator.
7. Nine *taks* of oil for each oil-pressing machine from the oil-presser.
8. Thirteen leaves from each shop of betel leaves daily.
9. One lump of molasses, one bundle of sugarcanes and one tin of juice from each farm (growing sugarcane) excepting that belonging to the Joshi.
10. One goat from each herd on the Dasra day.

11. One piece of cloth per loom per year from all classes of weavers.

12. From the loom of a Dhangar one piece of cloth per year.

13. Half a cocoanut for every marriage negotiation, marriage and widow re-marriage.

14. Vegetables from vegetable growers.

15. One *wafa* of all produce except corn from each farm.

16. Customary share from each seller in the market.

17. Customary rent for each Bania's shop.

18. One-fourth seer per bag of grocery from each grocer's shop.

19. The customary amount of salt and chaff per bag.

20. *Bahejama*, Rs. 25 (a tax on new comers) per annum.

21. One nut per day from each grocer's shop.

The income from the above dues should be divided equally between Gorkhoji and Bangoji Patils.

Half of the Mokdam-vada (Mokadam's house) should be enjoyed by Bangoji and the other half by Gorkhoji.

If any Inam of *jirayat* land is secured from Hakim, Deshpande and Deshmukh it should be equally divided between the two.

Any customary present and game from hunting should be divided between the two; Gorkhoji should first take his share and then Bangoji should take his.

All dues and profits from any new suburb should be enjoyed by both.

The hide of their dead cattle should be given them by the Mahar.

Both the Mokdams should realise their dues from all the villagers except the Bhapkar and the Kudanda families.

Any old right or perquisite not mentioned in this list or any new right or dues that may hereafter be created, should be enjoyed by both Gorkhoji and Bangoji.

Then follows a detailed description of the partition of land enjoyed by the Patil by virtue of his office.[8]

The schedule of this deed of sale, however, does not exhaust all the profits of the Patil's watan as his rights and perquisites varied at different places. In the year 1777-78, during the administration of the second Madhava Rao, the traders of (tailors, dyers and weavers, etc.) Kasba Sangamner complained against Keroji Patil Gunjal for undue exaction. In the detailed order that was passed, were enumerated some of the old dues and some new transgressions made by the Patil of Sangamner. It prohibits several taxes and reduces others. The Shravan patti,

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[8] P.D., Vol. I, Shahu Chhatrapati, pp. 146-151.

Shimganach patti and all new items of forced labour are forbidden altogether. The taxes on marriage and widow re-marriage and another tax called Karla are regulated. It is, therefore, certain that the Patil of Sangamner got Rs. 1-4-0 as Patdam (tax on widow re-marriage) and a shela worth Rs. 1-4-0 from every marriage party coming from another village, and one rupee for Karla.[9]

A Sanad of the time of Balaji Baji Rao mentions one blanket every alternate year from the shepherds.

The above documents clearly show that the Patil's salary, if salary it was, was paid in kind and not in cash. Every villager gave him some shares of his produce, *e.g.*, the betel-leave sellers gave him 13 leaves per day, the Bania or grocer daily gave him a nut and he got vegetables, green fodders, cotton, oil, and sugar, in short all the necessaries of life including a pair of shoes from his fellow-villagers in recognition of his public services. Out of the *jirayat* and *bagayat* land he got a few acres. Above all, the Patil enjoyed some social distinction. In processions of Pola, Ganesh Gauri, and Shiralshet and at the time of the Holi and the Dasra, the Patil enjoyed precedence over all his fellow-villagers. Even Muhammadan Patils exercised the right of offering Holi cake, although it was a purely Hindu festival.[10] Sometimes a lady from the Patil family had to be invited to a marriage dinner in the village, not as a matter of courtesy, but as a matter of right. There was a civil suit about this right in A.D. 1774-75, between two branches of the Patil family of Mauja Girbi, Pargana Phaltan, and the right was awarded after careful enquiry to the representatives of the elder branch.[11]

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[9] P.D., Vol. VI, pp. 328-329.

As the Patil enjoyed these social distinctions he had to make a corresponding return. It seems that custom required him to feed the balutas at the time of religious festivals. The government was in possession of the Patilki watan of Mauja Khodad, Tarf Narayangaon, Prant Junnar, about the year 1749-50, and we find a letter addressed to the Kamavisdar in charge, ordering him not to give more than two feasts in the year.

"A sanad to Govind Keshava, Kamavisdar in charge of Mauja Khodad, Tarf Narayangaon,

[10] P.D., Vol. I, pp. 218-219. Here however the Muhammadan in question claimed shetepan.

[11] P. D., Vol. VI, pp. 317-319. The following passages in the Saransh or summary of the case will illustrate this statement :

In the meantime, last year without inviting to the marriage a lady from the elder Mokdam's family as she should have been, Bhikaji complained to late Shrimant Narayan Rao Pandit Prudhan. And again, "a lady (Suvasin, literally means a lady whose husband is alive) from your family should be invited."

Prant Junnar. There are twelve balutas. It is usual to give them feasts on festive occasions. You requested that an order should be passed about these feasts. Upon that it is ordered that only two feasts should be given per year. So give only two feasts per year, there is no necessity of giving more."[18] It may be noted here that considering the standard of living of those days, the Patil's office was a lucrative one, and he was perhaps better off than a Deputy Collector under the British administration.

The Patil, however, fully deserved his social distinction and high remuneration. For, if his social position and remuneration were high, the responsibility and the risks of his office were very great too. He was liable to be imprisoned for failure to pay the stipulated revenue of the village, and when an invader or a rebel levied *khandani* or contribution on the village it was the Patil who had to stand surety for his co-villagers, and had to remain as a hostage in the enemy's camp till his demand was satisfied. The Patil of Nimbgaon Sava, Tarf Ale, was imprisoned by the Killedar of Nimbgiri in the year 1742-43 for arrears of jagir dues. The Killedar, when ordered to release the Patil calmly ignored the letter and further increased his rigours by putting the man in irons.[13]

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[18] P. D., Vol. III, p. 364.

4. *The Kulkarni :*

Next to the Patil in rank came the Kulkarni ;—invariably a Brahman, he was the Patil's clerk and the village record-keeper. He shared with the Patil the risk of imprisonment and oppression at the hand of the enemy and unprincipled government officials. Even in ordinary times the Patil and the Kulkarni had to suffer imprisonment for arrears of rent although all the villagers had joint responsibility for regular payment. Thus the Patil and the Kulkarni of Mauja Kingaon were imprisoned for an arrear of Rs. 1,925 and were not released until they had managed to collect Rs. 1,600.[14]

In time of political trouble the Patil and Kulkarni had to stand surety for the good conduct and loyalty of their co-villagers. Madhava Rao Narayan asked Narsing Rao Janardan Dhaigude to take from the Patils and Kulkarnis security for the loyalty of the Shiledars of their respective villages.[15] " If there are more shiledars in your Taluka take the Patil and Kulkarni of the villages as security for their not going to serve the rebel Sardars." In addition to these responsibilities the Patil had another unpleasant duty. He had to help distinguished personages when they passed through his village. Sometimes the Patil himself had to carry their luggage on his own shoulders like an ordinary cooly in case he failed to find out Bigaris from his village. Of course his responsibility came to an end automatically as soon as he reached the boundary of the next village.

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[13] " The Killedar of fort Nimbgiri arrested the Patil of Nimbgaon Sava Tarf Ale, for arrears in Jagir dues. He does not release him. Ignoring the letter from Huzur ordering release he has put the Patil in irons." P. D., Vol. III, p. 219.

[14] P. D., Vol. III, pp. 262-263.

[15] Rajwade, M. I. S., Vol. X, p. 96.

5. *His Rights and Perquisites :*

The Kulkarni's Manpan and Hakk were, however, far inferior to those of the Patil. We get a list of the rights and perquisites of the Kulkarni watan from a deed of sale executed by Mhalsabai, widow of Raghunath, the owner of half Kulkarni and Jyotishi watan of Mauja Nimbgaon Nagana, Tarf Khed, of Sarkar Junnar, in the year 1740-41.

Having no son and no male relation of her husband's family, and burdened with a heavy debt and at the same time desirous of performing charity, she sold away half her Kulkarni and Jyotishi rights to Baji Yeshvant and Gangadhar Yeshvant Chandrachud, Deshpandes of Sarkar Junnar for Rs. 2,000, reserving the other half for her son-in-law Lakshuman Govind Dhallu. The schedule of rights and perquisites not only enumerates those pertaining to the Kulkarni watan, but also indirectly gives some idea of those attached to the Patil's office. The schedule runs as follows:

1. Shirpav from the government to be received by the Kulkarni after the Patil.

2. Music to be played at the Kulkarni's house on the Dipwali and Dasra festivals after the Patil's.

3. Oilmen to give nine taks of oil per shop per day.

4. The customary share of vegetables to be taken from the vegetable-sellers after the Patil.

5. One pair of shoes per year from the shoemakers.

6. Water to be supplied by the Koli after he has supplied at the Patil's house.

7. One bundle of fuel on every festival.

8. Oil for ink and a piece of cloth for keeping papers to be received from the village.

9. Half the number of leaves received by the Patil to be taken from betel-leaves sellers.

Proceeds of the temple of Shrimartanda. (It seems from this item that both the Patil and the Kulkarni had some share in the proceeds of the village temples.)

1. Two and half *takas* at the time of the Purnima fair.

2. Bhandra presents after the Patil.

3. Frankincense to be taken only on one Sunday in the month of Ashvin after the Patil had done so.

4. Sweetmeats on the day of Ashvin Purnima fair, half the quantity received by the Patil.

In addition to these Mhalsabai enjoyed as Mushahira Rs. 24 in cash and three *Khandis* of grain (1 Khandi = 20 Maunds).[18]

6. *The Chaugula:*

Below the Kulkarni and above the Mahar came the Chaugula, who assisted the Patil in his duties and also had the care of the Kulkarni's records. It is noteworthy that the Marathas still believe that the Chaugula was generally the Patil's illegitimate son or a descendant of the illegitimate son of one of his ancestors. Among the Non-Brahmans in the Maharashtra country the illegitimate children were not legally unfit to inherit their father's property. The celebrated Mahadaji Sindhia was an illegitimate son of his father Ranoji. Shahaji Patil of Mukave in Pargana Umbarkhed in Sarkar Mahur was succeeded in the patilship by his illegitimate son Santaji Thakur. It seems a formal sanction of the Government was necessary in the case of succession by a natural son.[17]

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[18] P. D., Vol. I, pp. 135-138.

7. *The Mahar:*

The Mahar, though a man of very low caste, was a very serviceable official. He helped the Patil in revenue collection by summoning the villagers to the Patil's office or *Chawdi* and held the office of the village watchman. He also had to look after village sanitation, and in return got the hide of the dead animals. Perhaps he derived his caste-name from this peculiar right as Sir Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar supposes that the word Mahar is derived from Sanskrit *Mritahara*. But Mr. Atre suggests that it may be the combination of two Sanskrit words *ma* and *hara* (*ma* literally means Lakshmi and as the cow is sometimes called Lakshmi, it may stand for cow and hence cattle in general) and the Mahar is one who takes the dead cow.

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[17] P. D., Vol. VII, p. 106.

Dattaji Thakur and Santaji Thakur Patil of Kasba Mukare of Pargana Umbarkhed in Sarkar Mahur are informed that half the Patilki watan of the aforesaid Kasba belonged to Shahaji Patil. Krishnaji Anant Pandya of the aforesaid Kasba informed the Huzur that after the death of Shahaji his concubine's son Santaji Thakur had begun to enjoy the Patilki without the sanction of the Sarkar. Upon that the Mokdami of the above-mentioned person was confiscated. Presently we, taking pity on you, have ordered the restoration of the whole of your watan to you. Enjoy, therefore, the customary rights and perquisites of the Mokdamship of the abovementioned Kasba and do the work of that office.

We need not tarry here to discuss the etymology of the word *Mahar* and may pass on to the rights and perquisites of his watan. Here, however, no deed of sale comes to our aid, and we have to depend upon a document of an entirely different character, the summary of a civil suit. Bennak, son of Subhannak of Kasba Nagar, and Devnak, son of Bhiknak Shinda of Mauja Isalak, Pargana Parner, complained in the year 1776-77 that the Kunbis and Mangs were illegally depriving them of some of the customary rights of their watan and recounted those transgressions as follows:

1. They were obstructed by the Kunbis in their customary right of taking hides of all dead cattle excepting plough bullocks.

2. That on the Dasra day the Mangs got their customary bowlful of Naibedya, etc., from every house—out of that 5 Naibedyas and 5 pice belonged to them (Mahars) but the Mangs quarrel about that.

3. That the Naibedya of the Pola bullocks belonged to them (Mahars) but the Mangs unlawfully claimed them.

4. That they (Mahars) had a right to the cattle that died in the house of the Mangs and Mangs should not obstruct them in exercising this right.

5. The buffalo to be sacrificed on the Dasra day is taken round the village, and a pot of

sweetmeats is hung round its neck. The pot and the buffalo belong to the Mahar. This being the custom the Mangs demand half the sweet-meats.

6. That the Naibedya to the deity of cholera belonged to them the Mahars but the Mangs quarrelled about this right and claimed it as theirs.

7. That the custom was that the bridegroom of the Mahars should ride on horseback while the bridegroom of the Mangs should ride on bullocks, but the Mangs contrary to the custom take their bridegroom on horseback; they should be prohibited.[18]

Perhaps the Mahar had some other rights too. It is certain he got the customary baluta, or a share of grain at the harvest time, along with the other Balutas, as did his rival the Mang.

8. *The Potdar:*

The fifth village officer was the Potdar, always a Sonar or goldsmith by caste. His duty was to test the genuineness of the coins, or rather to see whether the coins really had the prescribed weight and proportion of metal. But it seems that sometimes one Potdar held the office for more than one village. A document dated 1740-41 shows that three brothers were holding the potdarship of Tarf Rajapur (4 or 5 villages make a Tarf). "Balaji Rudra, Keso

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[18] P. D., Vol. VI, pp. 324-328.

Rudra, and Moro Rudra Shenvai, Potdars of Rajapur came to the Swami at the Mukkam of Shahunagar near the fort of Satara and submitted that they were enjoying the Potdar's watan of Tarf Rajapur."[19] A second document dated 1742-43 shows that one Ganshet Sonar held the Potdar's office for two Parganas and his remuneration was a Damdi per Rupee of the collected revenue ($\frac{1}{4}$ pice = 1 Damdi)."[20] (A Sanad granting the Potdari watan of the Parganas Sakse and Karnale was given to Ganshet Sonar last year. The aforesaid Sonar informed (us) that you said that Potdar's Damdi (customary remuneration) is in your ijara and people therefore did not give him the usual Damdi per Rupee). While another document dated 1765-66 tells us that Lakshman Sonar, Potdar of Pargana Nevase, got an allowance of Rs. 4 per month from the government and an extra allowance at the rate of Rs. 2 per large village and Re. 1 per small village.[21] This grant of a government allowance perhaps point out that it was recognised that the Potdars' services were more necessary to the central government than to the villagers. The

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[19] P.D., Vol. I, pp. 139-141.

[20] P.D., Vol. III, p. 362.

[21] Lakshman Sonar, Potdar of Pargana Newase informed the Huzur that the Potdari watan of the aforesaid Pargana belonged to his family from old times. He was getting from the Sarkar Rs. 4 per month, and in addition to that Rs. 2 from big villages and Re. 1 from small villages, P.D., Vol. VII, p. 107.

Potdar closes our list of village officers and we shall now turn to the industrial organisation of the village.

9. *The Industrial Organisation :*

The Maratha village was a self-contained unit. Surrounded by a wall, it tried to be independent of the outside world as much as possible. We have already seen how it had its own Patil, Kulkarni, Chaugula, Mahar and Potdar; and we shall see later on how the civil suits could be decided by the village Panchayet without any intervention from the Peshwa's Government. As it had its political autonomy, the Matatha village tried to have its industrial autonomy also; and this brought into existence the twelve balutas or the village artisans. The logical consequence of the idea and the ideal of industrial autonomy was that the artisans became watan-holders, and expected that they and their descendants should enjoy a monopoly of their particular trade in the village and their right to such a monopoly in theory as well as in practice was recognised by all. Civil suits about ownership of such watans were frequent and often complicated, for neither did a Maratha watan-holder easily lose his hereditary office, nor was he willing to do so. Long absence from the village did not prejudice his rights in any way; he or his descendants could return after thirty or forty years and replace the man who had in the meantime been serving the villagers. Wonderful perfection of their knowledge of genealogy and village history and tradition was on such occasions exhibited. In the year 1779-80, Raghoji and Satbaji son of Abaji Khadke, applied for a sanad of the barber's watan in Kasba Poona; in the history of the watan, described in the application, we find that their ancestor had left the watan in time of scarcity and during his absence the barber's service was rendered by another family. On the return of the descendants of the original watan-holders, the watan was divided between the two families. In the year 1749-50, however, the barbers' watan at Chinchodi, Tarf Siral, in Pargana Nevase was recovered by Jakhoji and Yamaji sons of Santa barber after a long absence of the family from the watan for two generations (their grandfather had left the village owing to scarcity).[22] Similarly the blacksmith's watan of Mauja Khodad, Tarf Narayangaon, Prant Junnar, was recovered by four cousins Shivaji son of Tanhaji, Visaji son of Malji, Darkoji son of Malharji, and Nimbaji son of Shivaji Chaudhari in 1763-64, although their uncle Santu had voluntarily left the watan and his native village and refused to return to his duties, even when his co-villagers repeatedly requested him to do so.[23] In 1764-65 the Sonarki

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[22] P. D., Vol. II, p. 9.

[23] P. D., Vol. VII, pp. 138-139.

(goldsmith) watan of Lonikhurd Tarf Haveli Sangamner was recovered by the heirs of the original watandars after a long absence.[24] Similarly the heirs of the village officers like Patil, Kulkarni, Chaugula, etc., could recover their ancestral watan, for the modern rules of limitation were either unknown or always ignored.

The balutas, as we have seen before, were twelve in number (they were: Mahar, Sutar, Lohar, Chambhar, Parit, Kumbhar, Nhavi, Mang, Kulkarni, Joshi, Gurav, and Potdar), and received their remuneration called baluta in kind, a fixed amount of grain at the harvest time. Corresponding to the twelve balutas there were twelve *alutas*. But of all these balutas and alutas only the Joshi demands a special mention here. The word Joshi, derived from Sanskrit *Jyotishi*, means an astrologer. And the large number of inams that the astrologers got from Shivaji and his successors, in reward of their successful prophecies show what a hold they had over the popular mind. Nothing important was ever undertaken without consulting the astrologer. So every village required a Joshi of its own. His remuneration, as recorded in the deed of sale executed by Mhalsabai (already quoted in connection with the Kulkarni watan) was (1) baluta equal to Gurava's (temple priests), (2) presents at the temple (Prasad) equal to first class baluta, and (3) 25 bighas of gram land yielding 12½ maunds per bigha. It is noteworthy that on the failure of legal issue, a Joshi would not be succeeded by his natural children in the ancestral watan. This principle is well illustrated by a civil suit, that of Mallarbhat and others *vs.* Subhana Dasiputra (maid-servant's son).

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[24] P. D., Vol. VII, pp. 151-163.

The facts of the case were as follows:

Khand Bhat and Narayan Bhat were holders of the Joshi watan of three villages Mauja Bemble, Mauja Ghoti and Mauja Parhete. The first plaintiff Mallar Bhat was their grand-nephew and the second and third plaintiffs Nimb Bhat and Balambhat were the sons of their cousin Hanvant Bhat. Hanvant Bhat, grandfather of the first plaintiff, and father of the second and third plaintiffs, was Joshi of Akole. On the death of Narayan Bhat without any issue, his share of the three villages passed on to his brother Khand Bhat. Khand Bhat again died without any legitimate issue and his funeral ceremonies were performed by the plaintiffs who were also supporting the widow of the deceased watandar. But the deceased had an illegitimate son by a maid-servant called by his father's relations as Subhana Dasiputra. The plaintiffs complained that this bastard had put himself in illegal possession of half the Joshi watan of Ghoti. When summoned before the Government Karkuns and Deshmukh and Deshpande of Pargana Poona the bastard had to admit that he had no right of inheritance to his father's property, and had to submit a written statement to that effect.

The statement of Subhana Dasiputra :

In the Shake 1676, Subhana Dasiputra wrote this statement—the aforesaid Mauja and half of Mauja Ghoti in Pargana Bhose (1½ village in all) are your watan ; and Mauja Parhete and half of Ghoti in Prant Bhose (1½ village in all) are Narayan Bhat's watan. Narayan died without issue and Khand Bhat enjoyed all the three villages. After Khand Bhat's death I, your maid-servant's son, did the work of the watan ; but as you did not like it, I handed over to you the village of Bemble and kept the Jyotishpan of half the village of Ghoti formerly belonging to Narayan Bhat. When the Pant Pradhan Saheb was made acquainted with the circumstances, he had me brought to his presence. When questioned about the circumstances of the case, I said that I was not the heir to the watan and that you were the owners and proprietors, so that you might enjoy your watan in peace, I wrote this paper.[35]

10. The Mirasdars and Upris :

The village land was divided among Mirasdars and Upris. The Mirasdars were residents of the village who had permanent proprietary right in their land, and could not be ejected or dispossessed so long as they paid their rent. This rent again, as we shall see when we discuss the revenue system, was a fairly fixed amount. But as the village community was regarded as an organic whole, the Government held Mirasdars as a body responsible for the payment of revenue; in ordinary cases, they were obliged to make up for failures in the payment of each of their body. The property of Mirasdars was hereditary and saleable, and even when ejected for non-payment of land tax, the Mirasdars did not lose the right of recovering their ancestral farm land for a long period. If they could repay the government dues they were entitled to restitution even after so long a period as thirty or forty years. The Upris, on the other hand, were tenants-at-will, and generally strangers holding government land under the management of Mamlatdars. They had therefore none of the advantages of the Mirasi; but the latter did not enjoy his privileges gratis. He had to pay heavier taxes, and the major portion of the burden of village expenses fell on his shoulders. It is believed that originally there were no Upris, and the Mirasdars were the descendants of the original settlers who became the natural proprietors of the village lands, according to Manu's code which lays down that land belongs to the clearers of the wood; and there is reason to believe that this assertion is not without a strong foundation. Even to-day the Mirasis form the majority of the cultivators while the Upris are in the minority. So the Maratha villages, like other Indian villages, were originally inhabited by independent proprietors. This, with their isolated situation in a mountainous tract, perhaps helped them to remain the independent autonomous republics that they originally were throughout the Maratha period, and even during the first few years after English conquest.

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[35] P. D., Vol. II, pp. 27-30.

Generally, the white soil of the village was reserved for the *gharthan* or the homesteads of the villagers and the black soil for cultivation. This distinction afterwards gave birth to a peculiar meaning of the word *pandhari* white, which when used in relation to villages stood for villagers in general. The village was surrounded by a wall, and all the villagers except the criminal classes, like the Bhils and the Ramoshis lived within it. The criminal classes for the sake of public safety as well as public sanitation had to live outside the village wall, although they had to perform the Police duties. They were under their Naik, or the headman of their caste, and were held responsible for every theft or robbery committed in the village. Unless they succeeded in tracing the offence to some other village or in recovering the property lost, the criminal tribes as a body had to make good the property stolen. As a consequence, every village was secure from the thieving exploits of its own Ramoshis, and generally, the Ramoshis from distant villages or the Bhils from mountains were responsible for the breach of rural peace. But in time of general disturbance and often in times of general peace the feudal chiefs plundered their rivals' villages. Against these more powerful robbers the village wall offered but scant resistance and no security.

11. The Financial Arrangement :

We may now turn to the financial arrangement of our rural republics. Above all they had to pay the government dues as a matter of course ; and their land-tax was fixed conjointly by the Patil and a government officer after actual survey and inspection for a fairly long term. But as the village had its own special needs, it had to raise money to meet them. Says Elphinstone—" The maintenance of the Village Temple ; (in the deed of sale executed by Mhalsabai we have seen that in her village there was a temple of Shri Matandji—the sun-god) its fixed and authorized pensions, and annual charities ; its ceremonies and religious festivals ; its alms to beggars and entertainment to guests, etc., and the fees of peons stationed in the village, entail a number of expenses on the community, which, unless allowed for from the Government revenue (which is very rare) are defrayed by a tax on the village." This extra tax fell on the cultivators, and the major portion of the burden was (as has formerly been mentioned) borne by the Mirasdars. The charges for the temple, charity and festivals were permanent and more or less constant, and were therefore raised by a permanently fixed tax called *Salabad* while the less constant and uncertain but none the less recurring charges were met by an extra assessment called *Sadar Warid patti.* In addition to these recurring expenses there were non-recurring ones, the most important of them in those insecure times being that incurred by the repair of the village wall (for which government sometimes sanctioned a grant) and the purchase of forbearance of an insurgent or an enemy, against whose arms the villagers were helpless. The government was sometimes ready to make some remission of revenue for the second item, but a total remission, or concession even to the amount of contribution paid by the villagers, was absolutely unknown. In such cases if the amount was very heavy a public debt was contracted, and gradually paid off by an annual assessment included in the *Sadar Warid patti* or mortgages or grants of land on the part of the villagers. These grants, known as *Gaon Nisbat Inam*, were enjoyed rent-free by the creditors. If small in area no rent was charged for these inams; but if big, rent was paid by the villagers in common.[24] So the Peshwa's government allowed the Maratha villages a free hand in financial matters. In fact, the village communities enjoyed real self-government within the empire. If the village officers were not elected by the villagers, neither were they appointed by the government, and although they had to obey the orders of the government, the very nature of their communities put them under the moral influence of public opinion, as they were paid directly by the villagers. Industrially the Maratha villages were self-contained and self-sufficient. The paternal supervision exercised by the Peshwa's officers on the whole secured the material welfare of the rural communities and was not therefore unnecessary. We shall next try to see how this paternal supervision was exercised by the government of a benevolent despot.

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[24] Elphinstone: Report on the Territories recently conquered from the Peshwa (2nd Edition), pp. 19-20.

CHAPTER III

DISTRICT AND PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENTS

1. The Deshmukh and the Deshpande:

Before the time of Shivaji the Deshmukhs and the Deshpandes, were in charge of the Parganas. They were also called Zamindars. Their control over the villages led to oppression of the rayat, and Shivaji decided to do away with their agency. At the same time, the great Maratha ruler did not forget that if the Zamindars were turned out of their office without any provision whatever, an economic revolution would follow creating a number of beggars who had once seen opulence; and the remedy would be worse than the disease. He, therefore, took away their authority, but left them in the enjoyment of their customary dues, and appointed government officers in their place. The Peshwas simply continued this practice of Shivaji, and the change was not produced "by the policy and avarice of the Bramins" as Elphinstone seems to suggest, but it was realy "attended with beneficial effects," as he himself further adds—"as delivering the people from the oppression and exactions of the Zemindars."[1] In fact during the Peshwa period the Deshmukh and the Deshpande became the sincere friends of the rayat, and never failed to bring to the notice of the Peshwa their grievances. We find the Zamindars accompanying the Khots and Patils of Prant Rajpuri to Poona to inform their master how insecure the rayats felt and how the lands were left uncultivated owing to the disturbance of the Shamal (siddi) (1760-61).

"The rayats of Prant Rajpuri have been much oppressed by the disturbance of the Shamal, and their lands have not been cultivated. Disturbance takes place every day. The Zamindars, the Khots, and the Patils came to Poona and prayed that the Swami should therefore take pity on them and make collection according to a new inspection of the aforesaid Prant in the present year."[2]

Again in 1763-64, the Deshmukh and the Deshpande represented to the authorities that the villages of Prant Junnar had been burnt and plundered by the Mughals, and suggested that some concessions to the cultivators should be made.[3]

But although the Deshpandes and the Deshmukhs were relieved of their original duties, their watan was not altogether a sinecure. "Long after the Zamindars ceased to be the principal Agents," says Elphinstone, "they were still made use of as a check on the Mamlutdar; and no accounts were passed, unless corroborated by corresponding accounts from them." In fact the hereditary officers were preserved as a check on their non-hereditary superiors in almost every department of the Peshwa's government. In addition to this, the Deshmukh served as a depositary of old records and the past and the present history of all watans, grants, and inams. So, whenever there was any dispute about land, the Deshmukh was asked to produce his old records and he had also "to keep a register of all new grants of transfer of property either by the Government or by individuals." It seems that the Deshmukh had an official seal for stamping these deeds, and it was usual for the senior owner of the watan to be the custodian of this seal, while the junior owners simply enjoyed the inam lands. Two documents are quoted here in support of this statement.

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[1] Elphinstone, Report, p. 21.

[2] P. D., Vol. III, p. 220.

[3] P. D., Vol. VII, p. 19.

"Trimbak Rao, son of Gamaji Mhaske, Deshmukh Pargana Sangamner, came to the Huzur at the Mukkam at fort Purandhar and informed that half the Deshmukhi of the aforesaid Pargana belonged to his family and the other half to the family of Shelke. That in his family he was the senior and that the accepted custom was that the senior man in the family should have the entire right of using the official seal, putting his signature and doing the other duties of half the share of the aforesaid Pargana; while his co-sharers should enjoy their customary share of the inam, and that the senior should grant them such pecuniary assistance as he deemed fit for their needs. That he had been exercising his right of seniority in the above style * * * Coming to the above conclusion we give you this letter of authority. Continue in the enjoyment of your right of seniority, generation after generation, use the seal of the family of Mhaske as before, do the Deshmukhi work of 150 villages and exercise your right of seniority by putting your signature, giving your co-sharers their due share of the inam, and granting them pecuniary help as is customary and as their needs demand" (1776-77).[1]

"Dadaji Dev Rao Deshmukh, Tarf Haveli, Tarf Ale, Tarf Votur and Tarf Minher, Prant Junnar, came to the Huzur and represented that of the above-mentioned four Tarfs half the Deshmukhi belonged to Tuljaji Sakhoji Hande Deshmukh and the other half to him. That the old custom prevailing in the Mughal regime required the senior member of the family to reside at court, and accordingly on the death of his father Dev Rao, he, as the senior owner of their half, remained with the Mughals at Killa Shivner and asked his uncle Ananda Rao, the younger brother of Dev Rao, to carry on the work of the Deshmukh. Ananda Rao conducted the work for twenty years and upon his death his son Shivaji continued it for ten years more. But he did not submit any account to Dadaji nor did he give the latter the produce of the watan. Dadaji therefore urged that, as the senior owner, he should have the management of the watan to which Ananda Rao had no legal claim, and Shivaji Ananda Rao should be warned that he should have the rights of a simple junior sharer only. Upon that Shivaji Ananda Rao was brought to the Huzur and on enquiry it was found that he had no claim to the management. All past account should be submitted and explained to you (Dadaji), you should manage the above-mentioned half Deshmukhi. You are accordingly ordered to do the customary work of the management of half the Deshmukhi, put your signature and use the seal and enjoy the rights and perquisites of the watan (*Hakdak, Manpan, Inamat, Isafat*)."[5]

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[1] P. D., Vol. VI, pp. 322-323.

2. *The Deshmukh's Rights and Perquisites* :

The Deshmukh's office, like that of the Patil, was very lucrative. The following remarks of Elphinstone are interesting : "The Daishmook's profits are very great; generally, I am told, about five per cent. not only on the Revenue, but on the land; five acres in each hundred for example, will belong to the Daishmook, and a twentieth of the collections besides: and various claims in kind, as a pair of shoes, every year from each shoe-maker, a portion of ghee from those who make that preparation, etc., etc." "It seems to be thought, that they (Deshmukh and Desphande) cannot sell their Offices (though Patạils and Coolcurnees can) and it is even doubtful, if they can sell their fees, though they may pawn them. Their land they can certainly sell." Whether they could sell their fees or not we do not know but that at least on one occasion the Deshmukh's fees were transferred by a *bakshishnama* is certain. The deed in question has been published by Mr. V. K. Rajwade. According to this document, the Deshmukh got only two per cent. of the revenue and not five per cent. as Elphinstone says. As it recounts all the rights and perquisites of Deshmukh and Deshpande watans, a part of it at least is worth quoting.

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[5] P. D., Vol. VI, pp. 323-324.

1. The custom is to pay Rs. 3 from each village; out of that the Desphande will take Re. 1 and you should take the remaining Rs 2.

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[1] Elphinstone, Report, 2nd edition, pp. 21-22.

[2] Rajwade, Sources of Maratha History, Vol. X, p. 114.

2. The Shirpav from government should be taken by you first and by the Deshpande afterwards.

3. On the documents relating to watan, etc., you should put your signature, and by the side of your signature the Deshpande will put his.

4. Presents should be placed before the government officer by you first, and the Deshpande should make his presents after you.

5. Betel leaves from government as well as from others should first be taken by you and by the Deshpande afterwards.

6. As for other Manpan, etc., pertaining to the watan you should accept them first and the Deshpande afterwards.

7. In the aforesaid Kasba, there is a plot for the Deshmukhi watan. You should erect a building there and live therein.

8. Take the customary dues of green vegetables from markets in the different villages and in the aforesaid Kasba, etc.

9. You should enjoy old inam land both *jirayat* and *bagayat*.

10. Take the customary bundle of fuel from the Mahars from each village at the time of the festivals.

11. Take from each village *til* at the time of Sankranti and *ghi* at each Shradh ceremony performed.

12. Two *bhets* (presents) should be taken by you and your representative employed for the work of the aforesaid Pargana.

13. Take one blanket annually from every village where Dhangars work their looms.

14. Take shoes from the shoemakers at the rate of a pair per year per village.

15. Take the customary *sayvan* dues from the said Kasba.

16. The sweepers of the mosque of Shaha Daval Pidar pays Rs. 3 per year as *tabruk*; out of that Re. 1 belongs to the Deshpande; you should take the remaining two.

17. The bread money from each village should be divided equally between you and the Deshpande.

18. The musician should be rewarded by you first and then by the Deshpande.

19. Of the miscellaneous dues for miscellaneous work, you should give one-third share to the Deshpande and keep for yourself the remaining two-thirds.

20. Of the dues to the government in connection with the Pargana, the Deshpande should pay one-third and you two-thirds.

It is therefore clear that the remuneration of the Deshmukh and the Deshpande was in every way analogous to that of the Patil and the Kulkarni, and was paid by the people of their Pargana and not by the government. Their interest was therefore, closely bound up with that of the people, and for the sake of public interest, it seems that women were sometimes considered unfit to hold these offices, although the affairs of great military fiefs were often under the charge of ladies. Umabai Dabhade was often addressed by the Peshawa on matters of great political weight and we all know how skilfully the famous Ahalya Bai managed the helm of the state bark during the political storm of those times. Public opinion as voiced by the Panch of Sarkar Junnar had decided in 1772-73 that "No Deshpande watan should in future be continued in the name of a famale."[8]

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[8] The circumstances of the case are as follows:

In the year 1768-69, Girmabai, widow of Krishnaji Hari Deshpande, represented that there had been no lineal descendant in her family for 4 or 5 generations, and that it was therefore usual in the family for the widow to adopt a son and have the watan continued in her adopted son's name: that her adopted son had agreed to enter her name along with his, but after sometime he had omitted to do so. Her adopted son Bhagvant Rao died leaving a boy of five or seven years, and his officers refused to recognise the authority of the lady. The lady, therefore, urged that her joint authority with the boy should be recognised, and the prayer was granted. The unreasonable interference of the lady, however, led to mismanagement, and three years later we find Amrit Rao petitioning the government that some measures for good management should be taken. He also pointed out that if the claim of Girmabai was recognised by the government as a principle, the same claim would be made after her death by Amrit Rao's step-mother. The government appointed a Panchayet for decision, and they gave their verdict entirely in favour of Amrit Rao. They decided that not even a moiety of power should be surrendered to Girmabai, her name however should be continued in documents so long as she lived, but in future no watan should be continued in the name of a female. P. D., Vol. VII, pp. 112-113.

3. *The Kamavisdar and the Mamlatdar*:

During the regime of the Adilshahi and the Nizamshahi dynasties the Maharashtra country was, for revenue and administrative purposes, divided into Parganas, Sarkars and Subhas. Shivaji, however, true to his nationalising principles, divided his dominions into Mauja, Tarf and Subha. In his days the officer in charge of a Tarf was called a Havaldar, and the officer in charge of a Subha was styled as a Subhedar or Mukhya Deshadhikari. During the Peshwa period, however, we find all these terms Tarf, Pargana, Sarkar and Subha, in indiscriminate use. But the Subha was also called a Prant and Tarf and Parganas also came to be styled as Mahals. Over the small divisions were placed the Kamavisdars, and the Mamlatdars held the charge of the bigger divisions. The Mamlatdars held their office directly under the central government except in the three provinces of Khandesh, Gujrat and the Karnatak, where they were placed under officers known as Sarsubhedars "In the Carnatic he (Sarsubhedar) was answerable for the Revenue, and appointed his own Mamlutdars; but in Candeish he had only a general superintendence; every Mamlutdar giving in his own accounts, and making his payments direct to Government." We may, however, enter into an enquiry about the remuneration of these high officials before discussing their powers and privileges, rights and responsibilities.

4. *Their Pay:*

A comparison of the documents will show that all the Kamavisdars did not enjoy the same remuneration, their allowance varied with the importance of the districts under their charge. Thus Trimbak Hari was appointed Kamavisdar of Sarkar Hande in the year 1740-41 on a salary of Rs. 1,000 per annum[9] while Ramchandra Ballal, Kamavisdar of Pargana Bhupal, enjoyed in the year 1743-44 a salary seven times as large.[10] The general principle seems to have been to give the Kamavisdar 4 per cent. of the money advanced by him (thus in the case of the Kamavisdar of Pargana Bhupal—your salary is Rs. 7,000 at the rate of 4 per cent. on the revenue of one lac and seventy-five thousand).[11] But this rule does not appear to have been uniformly followed. In the case of the Kamavisdar of Kasba Puntamba[12] quoted in the footnote it was clearly stipulated in his appointment letter that he should pay at least Rs. 20,000 in advance every year. His salary according to the former rule should have been Rs. 800 but as it was, the officer did not get more than Rs. 200 ("of the sum contracted Rs. 20,000 are to be paid in advance every year. Pay therefore Rs. 20,000 annually and get receipt."…………… "The salary of the Shibandi and the officers of the aforesaid Mahal as before—Rs. 200 Kamavisdar").

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[9] P. D., Vol. III, p. 254. [10] P. D., Vol. III, p. 255.

[11] P. D., Vol. III, p. 255. I beg to differ from Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnis who seems to think that in the above two cases the officers got as their salary 4 per cent. of the revenue of their districts. In his English summary of documents Nos. 407 and 409, Vol. I, 'Balaji Baji Rao Peshway,' he says—"the remuneration of the Kamavisdar of Bhopal was fixed at Rs. 4 per cent. of the revenue received." And again "The Mamlat of Bundelkhand was entrusted to one person, and Rs. 3,20,000 were received from him in advance on account of land revenue. His remuneration was fixed at Rs. 12,800 at Rs. 4 p. c. of the revenue." It is doubtful whether the word rasad in these two documents means—revenue, it stands rather for the money that these officers had to advance at the time of their appointment, and a simple

Generally a lump sum was granted for the Kamavisdar's office and officers minutely

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calculation shows that the salary amounted to just 4 p. c. of what they had paid in advance. Ramchandra Ballal Kamavisdar of Bhupal had paid Rs. 1,75,000 and his salary was Rs 7,000. Lakshman Shankar Mamlatdar of Bundelkhand paid Rs. 3,20,000 and got Rs. 12,800 for his salary. Trimbak Babu Rao was appointed Kamavisdar of Kasba Puntamba (in the year 1759-60) for 5 years. The revenue of the village was to rise at the following rate:

1759-60	Rs. 45,000
1760-61	Rs. 46,000
1761-62	Rs. 47,000
1762-63	Rs. 48,000
1763-64	Rs. 49,000

So his salary at the rate of 4 p. c. of the revenue would have been at least Rs. 1,800 but actually it was Rs 200 only (see p. 269, Balaji Baji Rao, Vol. I). Nor can the Rao Bahadur urge that the rasad demanded always amounted to one year's revenue. We have a series of documents in the same volume contradicting such a supposition.

[12] P. D., Vol. III, p. 277.

specifying the salary of each and every Karkun, even the ordinary foot-men not being omitted. One document will sufficiently illustrate the whole arrangement and we shall quote here that addressed to Trimbak Hari, Kamavisdar, Sarkar Hande.

"The following sum, on account of the establishment to be kept by Trimbak Hari, Kamavisdar of Sarkar Hande, was sanctioned—

Rs. 1,000	...	The Kamavisdar.
Rs. 660	...	Palanquin for 11 months at Rs. 60 per month, service to be taken for 12 months.
Rs. 7,500	...	Troopers 50.

Two hundred peons to be entertained at Rs. 2-8, Rs. 2-12, or Rs. 3 per month; the salary to be paid for 12 months.

Twelve Karkuns to be employed when necessary at the *chaukis* (out-posts) at Rs. 3-8 per mensem.

Karkuns at the following monthly salaries payable for 10 months, service being taken for 12 months:

Rs. 25—Mazumdar.
Rs. 25—Naroram Fadnis.
Rs. 25—Shivaji Dadaji Chitnis.
Rs. 25—Shirmaji Avji (a Karkun).
Rs. 20—Janardan Bhashkar (a Karkun).

Rs. 60—Four Karkuns, Visaji Yadava, Bhikaji Tandev, Moro Shamraj, and Girmaji, on Rs. 15 each.

Rs. 48—Four Karkuns on Rs. 12 each, *viz.*, Babuji Trimal, Govind Shivdev, Shivaji Ram and Venkaji Anant."

It shows how much attention was paid even to minute details. Two points in this document demand our special notice. We find here the peculiar custom of paying for ten or eleven months, while a full year's service was demanded from the officer in question. The practice was, however, not peculiar to the civil departments only, but was followed with equal persistency in the army, navy and the forts. The second point is the allowance granted for the Kamavisdar's palanquin. It should not be compared with the travelling allowance of modern days, or with the allowance granted for the Governor's household. In those days, palanquin and sunshades were granted to officers of special merit in recognition of their public service, as the British Indian government confers titles like Rai Bahadur or Khan Bahadur on distinguished public servants. All such honours were accompanied by suitable grants for their proper upkeep, because the Peshwa was anxious that his officers should not find their hard-won honours burdensome.

5. *Their Duties*:

The Mamlatdars and the Kamavisdars were the Peshwa's representatives in their districts. So their duties and responsibilities were of a most comprehensive character and embraced all possible aspects of affairs. They had to look after the welfare of the cultivator, they had to devise means for improving agriculture, they had to encourage new industries, they had to enquire into disputes of both civil and criminal nature, and appoint a Panchayet for decision. This however does not exhaust the list of their innumerable duties. The Shibandi of the district was under their control and so was the police force. Religious and social questions were often referred to them for enquiry, and even the devil with all his evil powers was not beyond their jurisdiction, for they could compel the devotees of his black majesty to recall the evil influence of their dread master. It is needless to say that these ample powers gave their owners ample opportunities for corruption and the Maratha officers sometimes did succumb to the charms of gold. Fryer and Broughton, writing at different times and of different courts, alluded to the Maratha officer's inordinate love of presents. Fryer says how an officer of Shivaji's court actually told the English ambassador that "if he would have his Work speedily effected, and without any impediment, it was necessary to be at some more charge to present Officers with *Pamerins*, who were not in their List of Presents." Broughton similarly describes how Daulat Rao Sindhia did not hesitate to demand a *khelat* for a nephew that was no more, on the plea of soothing the feelings of the disconsolate mother. This love of presents, in vulgar language called bribe, was no monopoly of the Maratha officer alone. His Muhammadan, or even his English, brother was no better. Hawkins and Roe's account of the Mughal officers' curiosity about the contents of the merchants' bales is not complimentary to those grand dignitaries; and Shakespeare's picture of "the justice in fair round belly with good capon lined" found many imitators. It was a common failing all over the world which people in those days were ready to wink at.

6. *The Darakhdars :*

Fryer and Broughton's censures were meant for the officers of the court. Our friends in the districts—the Kamavisdars and the Mamlatdars were not above the common temptation; and as a check upon them were utilised the hereditary officers. Of these we have already come across one set—the district officers, known as Deshmukhs and Deshpandes, and we know they were used as a check on the Mamlatdars, and no accounts were passed, unless corroborated by corresponding accounts from them (Elphinstone). The other set may be conveniently described as the provincial hereditary officers generally known as Darakhdars or fee-men. These Darakhdars were always used as a check on the chief officers of every department, the army and the navy included. None of these hereditary officers could be dismissed by the Mamlatdar, nor could he compel them to perform any duties except those specifically assigned to them by long practice and custom. Not that the Mamlatdars never tried to do away with their independent subordinates; but in such cases the Darakhdar could confidently look towards the Peshwa's authority to back him and reinstate him in his ancestral office, and the peremptory order always ended with the usual phrase "that the work of the office should be taken from his hands." On the provincial staff besides twelve Karkuns there were (1) Dewan or Minister, (2) Auditor or Mazumdar, (3) the Registrar or Fadnavis, (4) Secretary or Daftardar, (5) Treasurer or Potnis, (6) Assay clerk or Potdar, (7) Petty Registrar or Sabhasad and (8) Under-Secretary or Chitnis. As these officers had not to depend on the Mamlatdar for their pay, they were in every respect independent of him. It was, therefore, quite natural that they were expected to be efficient checks on any intended malpractice on the part of the Mamlatdar and to report to the central government all lapses on his part if any ever happened. Moreover their duties were divided and assigned in such a manner that the Mamlatdar could not act independently of them. "The *divan* as the chief factor under the *mamlatdar* countersigned all letters and orders. The Auditor or *majumdar* approved deeds or accounts before they went to the registrar or *fadnavis*. The *fadnavis* dated all deeds and orders, prepared a daily waste book, fastened notes to the money-bags, dated the yearly village rent settlements, and brought the books to the head-quarters. The *daftardar*, from the registrar's waste book, made up the ledger and sent a monthly abstract to the head-quarters. The *potnis* kept a record of collections and the balance of cash, and helped in writing the waste book and the ledger. The *potdar*, of whom there were always two, examined the coins. The *sabhasad* kept a register of petty suits and reported them to the *mamlatdar*. The *chitnis* wrote and answered despatches."[13] A ninth officer the Jamenis is mentioned in a document of the time of the first Madhava Rao and his duties are enumerated as follows:

"(1) The records of the inspection of Jirayet and Bagayet lands by the inspecting officers, should be laid by them before the Jamenis, whose duty it will then be to fix the revenue demand after such enquiry as he may think necessary and to report the fact to the Karbhari.

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[13] Bombay Gazetteer, Poona Volume (XVIII), p. 332.

(2) The Jamenis should receive all revenue accounts and watch the closing of the accounts and see that the collections and arrears are correctly noted.

(3) The Jamenis has authority to increase the revenue of a village or to grant remissions, or to reduce the revenue for a term of years.

(4) Orders for the recovery of arrears from villages should be issued by the Jamenis.

(5) Kowls for the abatement of revenue should be issued by the Jamenis.

(6) A ledger showing the amount received and the amount due from each village, should be prepared by the Jamenis from the day-book of the Fadnis." (Joshi's translation.)[14]

These Darakhdars, severally and jointly, served as a check not only upon the Mamlatdar but upon each other as well. A glance at the following two lists enumerating the duties of the Mazumdar and the Daftardar will show how the Mazumdar supervised the work of the Jamenis, Fadnis and Chitnis, and how the Daftardar while auditing the accounts submitted by the Kamavisdar had to explain every matter to the Fadnis. In the year 1764-65 a letter was written to

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[14] P. D., Vol. VII, pp. 123-24.

Vyankat Narayan, Mamlatdar of Dharwar, recounting the duties of his Mazumdar, Ragho Gangadhar, as follows:

(1) He should see that the day-book is balanced every day.

(2) He should authenticate every letter and account prepared by the Fadnis or Chitnis.

(3) He should see that the salary registers of sowars and soldiers newly employed are correctly totalled. He should muster every month the sowars and soldiers already in service.

(4) He should prepare estimates of receipts and expenditure in regard to the portion of the taluka proposed to be entrusted to a Sub-Mamlatdar, and the detailed account to be taken from the Mamlatdar should be received through the Mazumdar.

(5) Change of Mamlatdars should not be made without his knowledge (B. P. Joshi's Translation).[15]

Another letter in the same year and to the same officer lays down the duties of the Daftardar as follows:

(1) The day-book should be written by the Fadnis and the ledger should be prepared from it by the Daftardar.

(2) The annual estimates of receipts and expenditure should be prepared by the Daftardar; the detailed accounts submitted by the Kamavisdars

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[15] P. D., Vol. VII, pp. 125-126.

at the end of the year should be examined by him with reference to the records.

(3) He should enquire into loans advanced, and their recoveries.

(4) He should examine the accounts relating to the sowars entertained from the Mahal.

(5) He should explain every matter to the Fadnis, and they both to the officer Vyankatrao Narayan (Mamlatdar). Orders to subordinates should not be issued by the Fadnis direct, but through the Daftardar. During the Fadnis's absence his work should be done by the Daftardar. (Joshi's Translation).[16]

7. *Beheda and Rasad*:

We may now turn to two more measures generally adopted to restrain the Mamlatdar from misgovernment. The first was the payment of a big advance paid at the time of his appointment to be realised later on from the revenue of the district under his charge. This advance served as a security against misconduct and at the same time relieved the Peshwa of his financial difficulties to a certain extent. Interest was however paid on this *rasad* at a rate varying from 1 to 1½ per cent. per month. The second was the *beheda*. It was an estimate of possible income and expenditure most carefully drawn up by experienced officers in the Peshwa's daftar, and with a knowledge of minute details as yet unsurpassed and unequalled. In his revenue collection the Mamlatdar had to be guided by this annual estimate or beheda and in the case of the Sub-Mamlatdar or Kamavisdar under him—the beheda was drawn up by the Mamlatdar's Mazumdar as we have already seen. But all these cautions could not entirely prevent evil practices in the Peshwa's government; and *antast* or bribe became a regular and quite an ordinary item in their accounts. Elphinstone remarks that "The sources of their profit were concealment of receipts (especially fees, fines, and other undefined collections), false charges for remissions, false musters, non-payment of pensions, and other frauds in expenditure. The grand source of their profit was an extra assessment above the revenue, which was called Sauder Warrid Puttee. It was levied to pay the expenses of the district not provided for by Government, and naturally afforded a great field for speculation; one of the chief of these expenses was called the Durbar Khurch or Untust. This was originally applied secretly to bribe the ministers and auditors. By degrees, their bribes became established fees, and the account was audited like the rest; but as bribes were still required, another increase of collection took place for this purpose; and as the auditors or accountants did not search minutely into these delicate transactions, the Mamlutdar generally collected much more for himself, than he did for his patrons." The Mamlatdar, however, took good care that the imposts might not fall heavy on the rayats, for it was to his interest that they should be well off and, as Elphinstone, himself points out, the only party that suffered was the government.

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[16] P. D., Vol. VII, pp. 126-27.

The Mamlatdar and the Kamavisdar were generally appointed for short terms, and in Shivaji's time transfer from one district to another was frequent. During the Peshwa period, however, they generally succeeded in getting their term of office repeatedly renewed, unless they were guilty of any serious abuse of their authority ; and frequently the Mamlatdar was left in charge of the same district for thirty or forty years. After his death his son might succeed him in his office, not as a matter of right but as one of favour. Consequently the Mamlatdars thought they had permanent interest in the prosperity of their districts, and whatever they did they always remembered that the goose that lays the golden eggs must not be roughly handled. If a bad Mamlatdar intent on present gain at the cost of permanent interest forgot this axiom of good government, he was promptly removed from his office by the Peshwa. (This remark however does not apply to Baji Rao II.)

The small division called Mahals or Tarfs were also governed on the same principle. A non-hereditary officer, the Havaldar, was checked and assisted by two hereditary officers, Mazumdar and Fadnis in revenue matters. The duties of the Mahal Mazumdar and Mahal Fadnis corresponded to those of the provincial officers of the same names. In addition to these revenue officers there were in every Mahal four militia officers who demand our notice here. The Hashamnavis kept a roll showing each man's name, family name, his native village, arms, and pay. The Asham Fadnis had to keep the accounts of the militia and had also to keep records of the musters if there was no separate officer for that purpose. The Hazirinavis, as the name of his office implies, kept the muster roll, and the Asham Daftardar made the militia ledger book.

It is needless to say that these officers did not generally interfere in the internal administration of of the village. The Mamlatdar or the Kamavisdar assessed the rent for each village in consultation with the Patil, sent a Shibandi force for revenue collection if the Patil asked for any, appointed Panchayets in civil and criminal cases if the Patil refused to do so, and of course entertained complaints against the village officers. In short, they served as a link between the local authorities at the base and the Secretariat at the top.

CHAPTER IV

IMPERIAL SECRETARIAT

The Secretariat, called by the Marathas the *Huzur Daftar*, was a very big establishment, employing more than two hundred Karkuns, where records of all branches of the Peshwa's administration were preserved with the utmost care and order. An enquirer could confidently turn to the daftar-records for any information concerning the Peshwa's government, and in fact the materials of the present work are drawn mostly from the same source. "The general contents of the Duftur under the Peshwas," says Mr. J. Macleod,[1] "may be described as follows; *viz.*, all accounts rendered to the Government of the revenue and expenditure of the districts, with the settlements of them by Government; the accounts of districts rendered by the hereditary district officers; and those of villages by village officers, of farms, of customs, etc., accounts of all alienations of public revenue, whether Surinjam, Inam or otherwise, of the pay, rights, and privileges of the Government and village officers; accounts of the strength and pay of troops and the expenses of all civil, military and religious establishments. The Rozkirds (daily registers) were registers of all revenue transactions generally, together with all grants and payments, and more particularly the accounts of all contributions and exactions, levied on foreign states. The whole of which were considered and exhibited in one comprehensive view in the Turjamas." It is said that Nana Fadnavis introduced many improvements in the working of the daftar as well as in the accounts department in general; and it is no small tribute to the ability of the Maratha officers and the Maratha Karkuns that after the English occupation of Poona, documents concerning government transactions of all kinds for a period of eighty-eight years were found tolerably complete in this vast store-house of information. At the head of this great establishment was the Huzur Fadnavis, and it is needless to say that the very nature of this office required a man of the highest ability.

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[1] Appendix to Mr. Elphinstone's Report, p. xxix.

For covenience the Daftar was divided into several departments, the chief of which were the Chatle Daftar and the Ek Beriz Daftar. The latter department had to deal with accounts of all sorts, and was, therefore, permanently fixed at Poona; while the Chatle Daftar was always under the direct supervision of the Fadnavis.

The Chatle Daftar was again subdivided into several branches, namely, the Fad, Beheda, Saranjam, etc. The Fad was the Fadnavis's own office. All sanads and orders were issued from this office. Here the Fadnavis checked and passed all accounts, and received informations from other departments. In the Fad were made and kept Rozkirds or daily transactions of all sorts. The Beheda department made the *Talebands, Ajamas* (estimate), and *Beheda* (budget) for the Fadnavis's information out of the accounts of income and expenditure annually submitted by the village and district officers. In the Talebands were shown in a small space a complete abstract of the actual receipt and expenditure of the revenue during the past year. The Ajamas or the estimate of possible income and expenditure for the current year was based on the Taleband, and from the information thus carefully collected and classified was framed the Beheda or the authorised budget for the guidance of the Kamavisdars and the Mamlatdars. These Behedas were framed with so much care and accuracy that the district officers found it very difficult to find any fault with them, and had to find out an excuse of exceptional nature for the smallest extra expenditure or remission of revenue. In the Saranjam department were kept accounts of Saranjam or military Jagirs and all *Dumalla* lands (land under double authority—where more than one person had different rights). Separate departments were entrusted with military accounts and contribution, etc. "But these arrangements, however, varied with the pleasure of the Furnavees, or the business that might occur."

In the Ek Beriz Daftar at Poona were kept classified accounts from all other departments and here were framed the Tarjuma—showing the total receipt, expenditure and balance of the government income for the year, and Khataunis or "abstracts of all expenditure arranged alphabetically under their proper heads." It is therefore no wonder that armed with the knowledge supplied by their department the daftar-officers successfully supervised the work of the village and district establishments.

It will not be out of place here to add a sentence or two about the reliability of the daftar-officers, specially because Mr. Macleod has some doubt upon that point. In all cases of proprietorship the Maratha watandar, if he failed to produce his sanad, referred the government official to the daftar. The British officers were on several occasions referred to the Poona daftar for copies of the original grants by the Maratha Jagirdars. Unless they had complete confidence in the authenticity of the papers in the daftar and the honesty of the daftar-officers, they would certainly have not relied so much on the Secretariat for copies of their family papers. Thus writes the then representative of the Parasnis family to Henry Brown "papers relating to our property are in the Marathi Daftar of the Peshwa."[2] The descendant of Visaji Krishna Biniwale wrote to the same officer "of the old papers we have got copies only which we send for your inspection. The originals will be found in the daftar."[3]

The Daftar, however, was neglected during the administration of that bad prince Baji Rao II and it fell into complete disorder. "The Duftur was not only much neglected," says Macleod, "but its establishment was almost entirely done away and people were even permitted to carry away the records, or do with them what they pleased."[4]

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[2] Kaifiyats Yadis, p. 129. [3] *Ibid*, p. 154.

[4] This short chapter on the Huzur Daftar is entirely based on Mr. Macleod's account. Sardar Khande Rao Chintaman Mehendale of Poona kindly lent me a copy of a very rare Marathi work published in 1859 and entitled *Iniquities of the Inam Commission in the Presidency of Bombay compiled from the published selections from Govt. Records and other sources exposed for the information of Enamdars*, etc. This work comments adversely on the reliability of the Daftar records, but it should be noted that it was nothing but a party pamphlet and it was its interest to discredit these records.

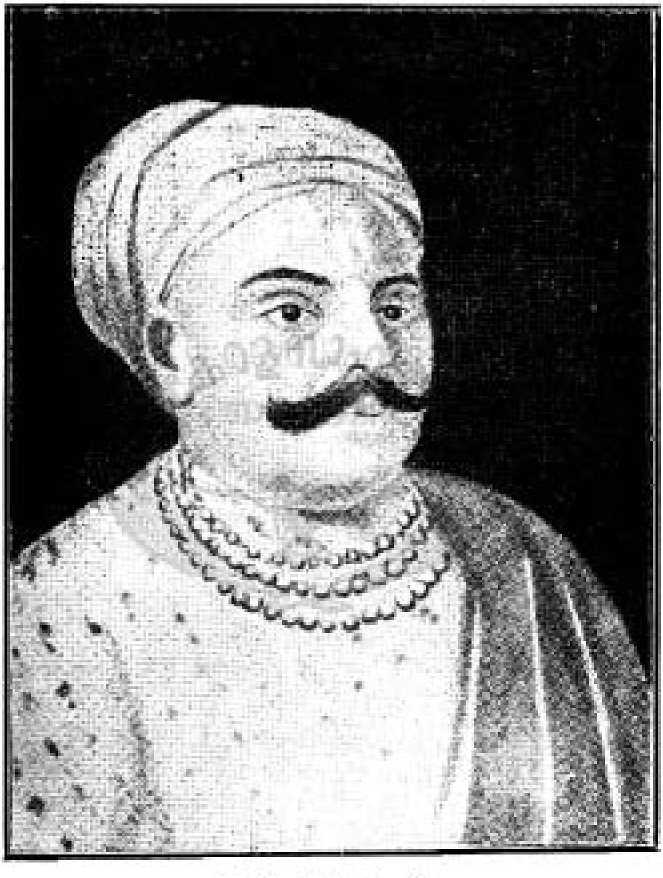
According to this work the Peshwa's Daftar was divided into two main departments: (1) Huzur Daftar.
(2) Mahal Daftar.

The work entrusted to the Huzur Daftar fell under the following heads: (1) Rozkird, (2) Nemnuk Beheda, (3) Ajmas, (4) Jhadti, (5) Taleband, (6) Ghadni, (7) Tarjuma, (8) Saranjam Yadi and (9) Tharavpat.

CHAPTER V

REVENUE ADMINISTRATION

The revenue policy of the Peshwas was based on the principle of securing the prosperity of the tax-payer. The Maratha financier never forgot that the government can after all only share the wealth of the country with the governed, and although the income of the government can be temporarily raised by exacting a large share, its permanent increase can only be secured by encouraging the people to produce more wealth. True to this principle they often preferred to postpone present enjoyment for future gain. They would watch and help the growth of a new suburb or a new market town without exacting a single pie for *hashil* or customs duties for six or seven years, and then draw a tariff list (with utmost attention to minute details of which the Maratha officer was a master) on the *istawa* principle (that of annual increment). Thus the maximum taxation would again be postponed for another five



Mahadaji Sindhia

or seven years. They would pursue the same policy for bringing fallow and waste lands into cultivation, for encouraging profitable industries, and they tried to counteract the evil influences of perpetual disorder and insecurity by making the assessment flexible. As a result of this policy Wellington found the Maratha country highly cultivated and Fitzclarence writing in 1819 described the Peshwa's territory as "one of the finest in India returning richly to his treasury."[1] Captain William Gordon, who was deputed to the Poona court in 1739, was favourably impressed with the revenue policy of the Peshwa. He wrote,—"Bajirao has a great extent of country, to appearance more fertile and valuable than any other I had passed through. *** His territories are well peopled, and the poorer sort, in the farming way, are rendered easy in their rents, which causes his extent of dominion to be in a very flourishing condition, more so than any other in the possession of the Marathas."[1a] Even the Jagirdars or feudal Barons, who exercised sovereign authority within their fiefs were not always indifferent to the welfare of their subjects. On the 28th August, 1818, General Munro wrote to Mountstuart Elphinstone,—"All the branches of the Putwurdhu family are popular in the country. They treat the inhabitants with great kindness, and their lands are well cultivated."[16]

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[1] Fitzclarence, Journal of a Route across India, p. 286.

[1a] Forrest, Selections from State Papers preserved in the Bombay Secretariat, Maratha Series, Vol I, p. 79.

The sources of the Peshwa's income can be classified as follows:

(1) Land Revenue and the Demesne land.
(2) Customs duties and income-tax in some form.
(3) Forest.
(4) Mints.
(5) Courts of Law.

1. Land Revenue:

We shall discuss the land revenue first, as the most important of these items. The Demesne lands were divided into *sheri* (cultivated fields), *kurans* (grass lands), *bag* (garden), and *ambarai* (orchards). These were, as we have already seen, under the direct management of the district officer, Mamlatdar or the Kamavisdar as the case might be, and were often sublet to Upri tenants or leaseholders.

The Patil, as we know, was responsible for revenue collection. When the time for collection came, the Mahar called the rent-payers to the village *Chawdi* where the Patil held his office. The Kulkarni or the village account-keeper was present there with his records to assist the Patil in his work and so were the Potdars. The latter assayed and stamped the money when paid, for which the rent-payer got a receipt from the Kulkarni. When the collection was over, the money was sent to the Kamavisdar with a letter under the charge of the Chaugula, and a similar letter, often a duplicate copy, was sent to the Deshmukh under the charge of the Mahar. The Chaugula got a receipt from the Mamlatdar for the sum paid, which was carefully preserved in the Kulkarni's bundle of village accounts. Sometimes a Shibandi was sent by the officer in charge of the district or Tarf to help the Patil in his work of collection. The revenue was generally paid in four instalments and sometimes in three.

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[16] Capt. West, A Memoir of the States of the Southern Maratha Country, p 37. And Gleig, The Life of Major General Sir Thomas Munro, Vol. II, p. 276.

2. *Mokasa Babti and Sahotra :*

Here we may also explain some terms which will often appear unintelligible to the reader of the old records.[1] The Marathas, unlike the modern European nations, did not extend their empire by peaceful penetration. Their victims had no reason to misunderstand their method. Shivaji invaded the territories of his enemies and offered them the option of purchasing security or submitting to plunder. The price that he first demanded was the Sardeshmukhi or Rs. 10 for every 100 levied by the Government. To the Sardeshmukhi was subsequently added another claim, that of the Chauth or 25 per cent. of the total Government collection. The whole of the Chauth was reserved for the Government treasury. The *Babti* or 25 per cent. of the Chauth was collected for the Raja by his principal officers, *viz.*, the Pratinidhi, the Peshwa, and the Pant Sachiv,—the rest was called the *Mokasa* and was partitioned among the Sardars for maintaining troops. Six per cent. of the whole Chauth was, however, reserved for the Pant Sachiv and was called the *Sahotra* and three per cent. was reserved as *Nadgaunda* to be granted at different times to different persons according to the pleasure of the King. Thus only sixty-six per cent. of the *Chauth* could be available for other *Mokasa*-holders. The Sardeshmukhi also came to be similarly divided afterwards. When the territories paying the Chauth and the Sardeshmukhi were finally annexed to the Maratha dominions, the remaining three-fourths of the revenue were styled as *Jagir* in contradistinction to the Chauth. It is needless to add that the Jagir also was granted in *inam*. As a result of this complex division, and complicated arrangement different individuals might have different claims over the same village. One might claim the *Sahotra*, a second, half the *Mokasa*, a third the other half, while to a fourth might have been granted some percentage of of the *Jagir*. If all these claimants had sent different collectors, as they sometimes did, the rayat would have been subjected to unnecessary inconvenience. The duty of collection in such cases was, therefore, for common convenience entrusted to one of the grantees only.[3]

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[1] For this explanation, as for many other items of information, I am indebted to the valuable report of Elphinstone, on the territories conquered from the Peshwa. (2nd Edition, pp. 22-23.)

3. *Principle and Method of Assessment :*

Now to turn to the method of assessment, its merits and demerits. Agriculture was then, as it is now, the principal industry of the country. Consistently with their policy of increasing the total wealth of the country, the Maratha revenue officer had to pay full attention to the improvement of agriculture. The Peshwas never forgot to remind their officers that their principal duty was to encourage agriculture, and to keep the rayats contented. They were also asked to base their assessment on actual inspection of the condition of cultivation and careful survey of the cultivated area. To illustrate this we may here quote several documents containing instructions to Kamavisdars and the Mamlatdars at the time of their appointment.

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[3] For a learned discussion of the policy of this distribution of revenue among the principal officers of the state, its origin, aim, merits, and demerits, see Sardesai's Marathi Ryasat, Vol. II, pp. 119-142.

When Bahiro Ram was put in charge of the Mamla Revdanda in 1747, he was instructed among other things to take steps to plant cocoanut trees at the rate of five trees per year, for every hundred trees then existing.[4] Among the instructions issued to Naro Trimbak of Prant Rajpuri (1748-49) occurs the following significant sentence—"bullocks and buffaloes purchased for agricultural purposes by the rayats should be exempted from octroi for five years."[5] In 1760-61 Lakshman Bhikaji Mamlatdar of Wan and Dindori was told that the villages should be surveyed. The lands should be classed as superior ordinary and inferior and also as *jirayat* and *bagayat* as well as *patsthal* and *motsthal* (watered by canals and watered by Mot) and should be measured. The result should be reported to the Amin, who would fix the rate to be charged. The land should be assessed accordingly.[6] That waste lands in these two Parganas should be brought under cultivation within two or three years. In case of failure in this respect, the Kamavisdar would not be continued in his office. That in case of failure of crops or disturbance in the country, remission would be granted according to the usual practice.

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[4] P. D., Vol. III, pp. 259-261.

[5] P. D., Vol. III, p. 265.

[6] P. D., Vol. III, pp. 289-295.

In fact the Peshwas were so much bent upon the improvement of agriculture that they took almost all the means known to modern governments for that purpose, the most remarkable being their attempt to create for the cultivators a permanent interest in their land by giving them long lease of five to seven years, and by forbidding sale and mortgage of land. The last measure was specially enforced during the administration of the second Madhava Rao, as will be proved by the following documents:

In 1774-75, the Mamlat of Pargana Amod in Prant Gujrat was given to Madhava Nana Shet, Raghunath Hari the former incumbent being dismissed. The following are some of the instructions issued for the guidance of the new Mamlatdar:

(1) Waste lands should be brought under cultivation and a detailed report of cultivation should be submitted to the Sarsubha annually. *Tagai* should be given in the sowing season and you should behave according to the guidance of the Sarsubha and not otherwise.

(2) The Zamindars of the aforesaid Pargana exact from the rayats more than their customary dues, you should enquire into the matter and report to the Huzur the amount of the extra exaction.

(3) Land mortgaged or sold in the above Pargana should be taken back and restored to the rayat. No mortgage or sale should in future be allowed.[7]

A similar set of instructions was issued in 1784-85, when the Mamlat of Pargana Hasot in Prant Gujrat was transferred from Sakharam Sheshadri to Balaji Ram.[8] The new officer was told that he should see that the cultivation of the said Pargana be made according to the *istawa* and the details of the cultivation be submitted every year to the Sarsubha. If however the amount of the cultivation fell short of the istawa contract, the Government loss should be compensated by the Kamavisdars.

(1) The Zamindars of the aforesaid Pargana take from the rayats more than their customary dues. You should enquire into the matter and report to the Sarsubha.

(2) Lands sold or mortgaged in the said Pargana should be restored to the rayats and no such mortgage of sale should in future be allowed.

It is noteworthy that the Punjab Government have also recently made attempts to stop the alienation of agricultural lands by the prohibition of sale and mortgage of such land by the poor peasant. The second item of the instructions enumerated in the last document also demands our notice, as it requires the Kamavisdar to compensate any loss that the government might incur from decrease in cultivation. Thus it was not merely the duty of these revenue officers to pay their best attention to the improvement of agriculture, but also their interest to do so, as the increase or decrease of cultivation in their districts affected their purse so much.

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[7] P. D., Vol. VI, pp. 265-268.

[8] P. D., Vol. VI, pp. 272-276.

The Peshwa's government had good reasons to encourage cultivation, as the assessment was always based on '*pahani*' or actual inspection. We have numerous documents enumerating the names as well as the remuneration of the '*Pahanidars*' or survey and inspection officers sent to different Parganas in different years. One dated 1742-43 runs as follows :

''Inspecting officers sent for inspecting Jirayat lands :

Officers sent to Tarf Nagothne should get at the following rate, after one month till the work of inspection was over. Ragho Ballal Amin Rs. 8, Hari Balaji Karkun Rs. 8, Rs. 16 in total, over and above these two sepoys and one measurer (parwari), three in all. Given from Honaji Balkavade's establishment. Blank sheets of papers for writing and a piece of rough cotton cloth." Similar remuneration and establishment were granted to Naro Ballal Amin sent to Tarf Pal, but his Karkun got a salary of Rs. 7 per month. Pahanidars were also sent to Tarf Nane Mawal.[9] Bagyayat lands were also assessed after inspection and we have already seen in connection with the village system that the Patil as the guardian of the cultivators' interest could demand a pahani whenever he thought that his village had been over-assessed. It seems that the principle of 'no pahani no extra assessment' was generally recognised by the government. A letter of the time of the second Madhava Rao may be quoted here for illustration.

"The officer of Prant Kalyan Bhiwandi represented that the *jamabandi* of the province could not be fixed without inspection of the lands and asked sanction to the expenditure of Rs. 700 or 800 on account of diet-money to officers making the inspection. He was ordered to make the inspection, if it was calculated to raise the revenue, and to take care that the inspection was honestly made, and that no oppression was caused to the rayats. Rs. 400 to 500 were sanctioned for expenditure as diet money" (summary by K. B. Marathe).[10]

4. *Classification of Lands.*

In fact, assessment without inspection was impossible. For not only were the lands divided into three classes superior, ordinary and inferior, for revenue purposes, but the condition of irrigation and the nature of the crops had to be taken into consideration at the time of fixing the land tax. Old cultivated lands were taxed at a rate higher than those recently brought under the plough. Thus, the scale of land-tax as well as the manner of payment differed in different parts of the country. We get the following rate for Tarf Haveli Pal[11] for the year 1740-41, from a document of the time of Balaji Baji Rao Peshwa.

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[9] P. D., Vol. III, pp. 205-206.

[10] P. D., Vol. VI, ;p. 226.

(1) Rice lands should be assessed as before at 10 maunds per bigha including the levy on account of Babti but excluding the levies of Hakkdars.

(2) Lands producing sugar-cane should be assessed at Rs. 5 per bigha as before.

(3) Vegetable-producing lands should pay Rs. 2 per bigha as before.

(4) Lands under summer crops should be assessed at Rs. 1-8 per bigha as before.

During the administration of the same Peshwa in the same year a kaul was granted to the village of Kathapur in Samat Koregaon of Prant Wai fixing the rate of assessment as follows:[12]

Class of land.	Maunds.	Payli per Bigha.
Superior	... $3\frac{1}{4}$	... 1
Ordinary	... $2\frac{1}{2}$	... 2
Inferior	... $1\frac{3}{4}$	... 1

[11] P. D., Vol. III, pp. 202-203.

[12] P. D., Vol. III, p. 208.

A third document from the daftar of the same Peshwa (1749-50) shows the difference in the rate of assessment for black and rocky soils, as well as for old cultivated lands and that brought recently under cultivation. The terms of a kaul granted to the village of Pimpalgaon Baswant in Pargana Chandwad were as follows:

(1) Jirayat land having black soil, already under cultivation should be assessed at Rs. 2 per bigha; land of a rocky description, already under cultivation, should be assessed at Re. 1 per bigha. In regard to land newly brought under cultivation the following rates should be applied:

	Black soil per bigha.				*Rocky soil per bigha.*		
	Rs.	A.	P.		Rs.	A.	P.
1st year ...	0	4	0	...	0	2	0
2nd „ ...	0	8	0	...	0	4	0
3rd „ ...	1	0	0	...	0	8	0
4th „ ...	1	8	0	...	0	12	0
5th „ ...	2	0	0	...	1	0	0

(2) Bagayat lands already under cultivation including lands bearing sugar-cane and other crops should be assessed at Rs. 10 per bigha. Waste lands newly brought under cultivation, and irrigated by canal, should be assessed as under:

1st year ...	Rs.	5	...	per bigha.
2nd „ ...	„	6	...	„
3rd „ ...	„	7	...	„
4th „ ...	„	8	...	„
5th „ ...	„	10	...	„

In the case of the jirayat land turned into bagayat by the sinking of new wells the following assessment should be imposed:

1st year	Re. 1	per bigha
2nd ,,	Rs. 2	,,
3rd ,,	,, 3	,,
4th ,,	,, 4	,,
5th ,,	,, 5	,,

Mango trees in bagayat lands should not be separately taxed. Mango trees belonging to Patils and others should, when they begin to bear fruit, be inspected and taxed at the rate of Re. 1 per thousand fruits. Mango trees belonging to the government should be protected, and the proceeds of the fruit thereof be credited to the government.[18] Finally the document wound up with the instruction that only about a tenth part of the village was under cultivation. The remaining portion should be brought under cultivation within five years. This document clearly shows how the Maratha financiers managed to secure for the government a due share of the unearned increment, without however diminishing the cultivator's zeal for further improvement of his farm land. We will quote only one more document to show the difference of rates for different crops. The villages in Taluka Neral held under the Mokasis were assessed at the following rates after the usual pahani in the year 1772-73. (Administration of the first Madhava Rao.)

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[18] Parasnis's translation, P. D., Vol. III, pp. 211-212.

		Rs.	A.	P.	
1st class land	...	5	0	0	per bigha.
2nd „	...	4	0	0	„
3rd „	...	3	0	0	„
Rabi lands	...	1	8	0	„
Warkas land	...	1	8	0	„
Hemp lands	...	5	0	0	„
Sugar-cane lands	...	5	0	0	„
Palm trees	...	0	4	0	for every tree.
Cocoanut trees	...	0	8	0	„

"A further addition of half the above rates was levied on account of the Mokasis except on waste land."[14]

It is evident from these documents that payment was made both in kind and cash, probably according to the convenience of the rayats. The rayat was often permitted to commute rent in kind into rent in cash, although it seems that the Peshwa sometimes felt disinclined to encourage such commutation. In 1743-44 Naro Ramchandra, of Jila Mawal, was directed not to commute the land revenue in kind, into a money payment, but the Peshwa's order was by no means absolute.[15] For the officer was not only permitted to use his discretion

[14] P. D., Vol. VII, pp. 5-12.

[15] P. D., Vol. III, pp. 222-223.

but was also furnished with a complete price list for his use in granting commutation. The list is interesting as in all probability it gives us the then prevailing market rates, and is therefore quoted below:

	Rs.	A.	P.
Rice per maund	1	4	0
Nagli per maund	1	8	0
Wari Sawa per maund ...	1	4	0
Til four Paylis, Kaili ...	1	0	0
Jawari per Khandi	35	0	0
Gram "	40	0	0
Wheat "	40	0	0
Ghi, two seers by weight ...	per rupee.		

The following year a similar letter was addressed to the officer in charge of Rajpuri, asking him to realise in kind as far as possible the arrears of the preceding year. But in case the rayats did not possess any grain the officer was instructed to allow money payment at the rate of Rs. 15 per khandi.[16] (One payli=4 seers and one khandi=20 maunds.)

It seems that the rayats preferred to pay in cash, and their prayer for such commutation, so far as we can infer from the documents at our disposal, was favourably considered. In the year 1745-46 at the prayer of Sadashiv Lakshman another price list was drawn up for commutation of rent in kind into that in cash for the benefit of the rayats of Prant Mawal who had fallen in arrears.[17] This price list is also quoted here, for a cursory glance at it will show that the price differed from that of the previous list. The arrears of land revenue in kind in Prant Mawal were ordered to be realised in cash at the following rates :

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[16] P. D., Vol. III, p. 228.

Rice	...	Rs. 30	per Khandi.
Nagli [18]	...	,, 35	,,
Sawa wari [19]	...	,, 30	,,
Sesamum	...	,, 70	,,
Jowri and Bajri	...	,, 45	,,
Kathan (Wheat, grain, etc.)	,,	70	,,

Ghi at 2 seers by weight per Rupee.

Two years later the rayats of Tarf Nane Mawal and Paun Mawal, were at the request of Naro Keshav permitted to pay in cash part of their arrears of land revenue in kind.

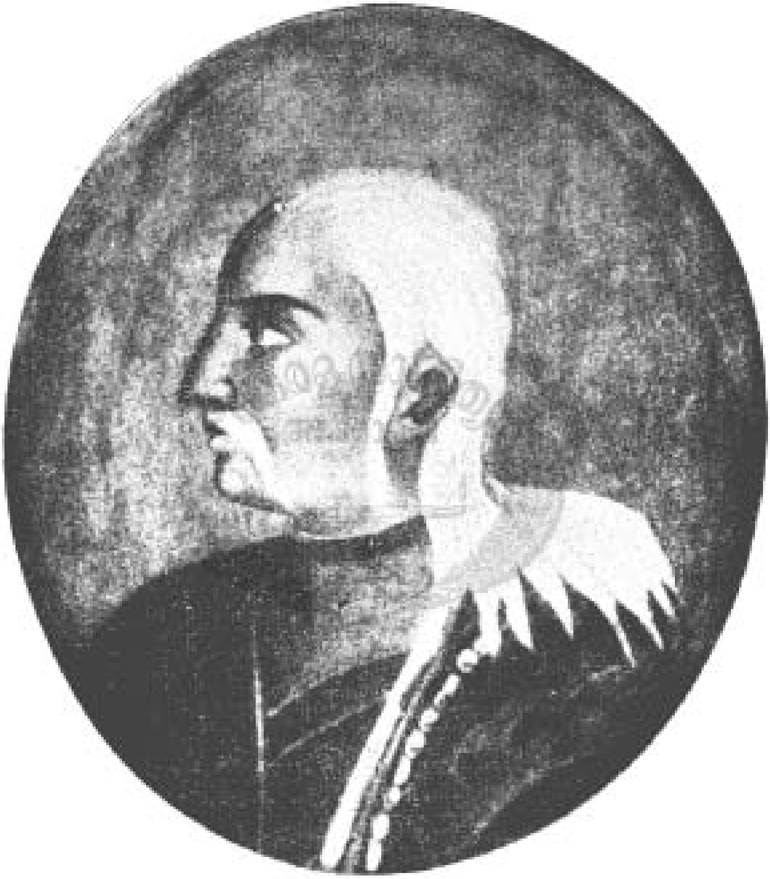
5. *Payment in cash usually permitted :*

"A letter to Naro Ramchandra : There is an arrear of seventy khandis of grain out of the land revenue of the years San Sit and San Saba in Tarfs Nane Mawal and Paun Mawal. Rajashri Naro Keshav came to the Huzur and prayed that part of the arrears might be commuted into money payment and the realisation of the rest might be postponed. Therefore commutation

[18] *Cynosurus Corocanus*

[17] P. D., Vol. III, p. 224.

[19] *Coix Barbata*



Shahu Chhatrapati

of twenty khandis out of the total due has been permitted. Take cash for rabi crops at the rate of three paylis per Rupee, and for cereals, nachna, wari and rice at the rate of six paylis per Rupee. The remainder (is) to be postponed for the present and to be realised at the coming season."[18] The price list drawn up in this case is worth quoting for comparison with the previous list. Rabi crops are quoted here at the rate of three paylis per Rupee and cereals like nachna (*Eleusine Corocana*) and wari (*Coix Barbata*) and rice are valued at six paylis per Rupee.

6. *Special treatment of Brahmans:*

During the administration of the next Peshwa, the first Madhava Rao, we find the Brahmans claiming commutation for money payment as a customary favour shown to them. In 1767-68, a Brahman of Chambharli, in Tarf Tungartan of Prant Karnala, Balambhat Godbole by name, prayed for commutation and the land revenue payable by him was fixed at the rate of Rs. 5-2-6 per bigha.[19]

The assessment may appear quite impartial on the face of it if we compare it with our table of money-rent already quoted, but that it was an undue favour can be proved beyond doubt by a document of the time of Balaji Baji Rao. It shows how the Brahmans of Tarf Tungartan, who used to pay at the rate of ten maunds of rice per bigha when the Tarf was under the Angria, got their rent in kind converted into a cash payment of Rs. 5-2-3 per bigha. Even at the most liberal calculation they could not expect such a low assessment if the market price of the grains had been taken into consideration.

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[18] P. D., Vol. III, p. 230.

[19] P. D., Vol. VII, p. 2.

A Sanad to Ramaji Mahadev, officer in charge of Salsette: "The Brahmans of Tarf Tungartan have represented that when the aforesaid Tarf was under the Angria, rent was exacted at the rate of ten maunds of rice per bigha. At present the aforesaid Mahal has come under the Sarkar; it has been, therefore, prayed that the Brahmans should be assessed at the rate prevalent in Prant Kalyan. So rent has been fixed at the rate of Rs. 5-2-3 per bigha. Realise accordingly. Brahmans in Kalyan Prant are not called upon to render forced service or to pay any tax on purchases; accordingly, do not make those demands on the above mentioned Brahmans too."[29] This partiality towards the Brahmans imposed, as Justice Ranade has pointed out, an unnecessary burden upon the finances of the land, and contributed not a little to the break down of the Peshwas' power.

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[29] P. D., Vol. III, p. 214.

7. *Cocoanut and other Plantations :*

Among the instructions drawn up for the guidance of district officers we have seen one drawing their attention towards the planting of cocoanut trees. In one of our tables of land revenue, we have also seen that every cocoanut tree meant for the Peshwa's treasury an additional income of eight annas. Evidently cocoanut plantation was, therefore, very profitable for the government. But, as I have pointed out, the government knew how to wait, and was in no indecent haste to exact a share of the Rayats' hard-won profits. As we all know, cocoanut plantations do not immediately pay; consequently, labour and capital, invested in them, lay idle for a considerably long period, and the planters required special inducements and concessions. The Peshwa's government, therefore, refrained from taxing these costly plants until they were twenty years old.

" Should any person plant the following trees no tax shall be levied on their account for the number of years specified below :

Cocoanut trees	...	18 or 20 years according to the nature of the land.
Betelnut trees	...	15 years.
Undani tree	...	12 „

After the lapse of the above period the following levies shall be made:

For each cocoanut tree annas four and a load of loppings. For each cocoanut tree used by Bhandaris (liquor manufacturers) Rupee one and a load of loppings. For each betelnut tree, anna 1. For each Undani tree, annas 3."[21]

Similarly in a kaul granted to the Taluka Suvarnadurg for the better cultivation of bagayat lands, we read—"According to custom, cocoanut trees, on sandy soil, should be exempted from taxation until they are eighteen, and on red soil until twenty years old. Betelnut trees, jack trees, and Undani trees should not be taxed until they are fifteen and twelve years of age, respectively. Then each cocoanut tree should pay at the rate of 4 annas, Bhandari cocoanut at the rate of Re. 1, betelnut tree one anna and Undani and jack tree three annas respectively per year.[22]

Thus cultivation of the specially profitable crops was encouraged by the adoption of special measures and special concessions.

8. *Waste Lands:*

We have already seen how specially lenient assessment was made for bringing waste lands into cultivation. During the administration of the second Madhava Rao, the government

[21] P. D., Vol. VI, pp. 242-245.

[22] P. D., Vol. VI, pp. 246-247.

went further. It seems that the rocky parts of Talukas Anjanvel and Suvarnadurg were specially unsuitable for farming purposes. The documents say that even trees and grass did not grow there. The Maratha peasants and the Peshwa's government were not, however, daunted by the niggardliness of nature, and the peasants offered to level the hill tops and fill up the *nalas* with newly-brought earth and thereby convert nature's wilderness into teeming fields if suitable terms were offered them. The Peshwa's government was equally prompt in coming forward, and the following well acceptable terms were offered:

"1. Should any person bring an entirely rocky ground under cultivation by covering it with earth, and by providing embankments around it, half the land shall be given him as Inam, and the remaining half shall be continued rent-free for twenty years, and at reduced rates for five years more, and shall, after that period, be subjected to full assessment.

2. Should any person reclaim cultivable land on the seacoast by providing embankments, one-fourth of the land shall be given to him as Inam and the remaining portion shall be continued rent-free and at reduced rates, for such periods as, upon a consideration of the money and labour spent, may seem fit." [23]

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[23] P. D., Vol. VI, pp. 242-247.

Naro Anant Parchure, Mahajan of Kasba Guhagar, came to the Huzur at the Mukkam of fort Purandhar, and represented that, formerly, there were bagayat lands in the Taluka Anjanvel. Lately, however, the crop did not grow so well, and the government tax, therefore, was felt to be heavy; the Rayats, therefore, became disheartened, and every year the cultivation of bagayat lands became less. If the Swami, however, granted a kaul of remission and a rate of cash payment, the Rayats will regain hope and will renew cultivation. The Rayats expected to convert rocky places, where trees and grass did not grow at all, into new fields by spreading earth (brought from elsewhere) over the area and to level the rocks by breaking stone, and to convert them into new fields by filling *nalas* and *odhas* with earth. Therefore, if half the land, so reclaimed, was allowed rent-free for twenty years, and at reduced rent for five years more to the cultivator who might reclaim it, cultivation of these lands would be undertaken. Therefore taking the question of the improvement (literally abundance) of cultivation into consideration, a kaul of remission (mafi) and an istawa rate (gradual increase) to the following purport is granted to those who will undertake bagayat cultivation and reclamation of land in the aforesaid manner.

1. The Rayats expect to convert the rocky soil of the Taluka into new fields by bringing

earth from elsewhere and by breaking the stones of the rocks and filling the natural ditches and depressions (*nala* and *odha*) with earth. He who will do so, will get as Inam half the land reclaimed by him, and will be permitted to enjoy the other half rent-free for twenty years, at a reduced rate for five years more, and at the usual rate afterwards.

2. Rayats expect to reclaim cultivable lands, in the aforesaid Taluka, now engrossed in the sea water, by constructing dams. If any one does so, he will get as Inam one-fourth of the land reclaimed, and the terms and periods of remission of rent and Istawa for the remaining three-fourths will be settled according to the amount of labour and money spent for the reclamation.

9. Remission of Rent :

Though the Peshwas tried so much to encourage reclamation of waste lands, they did not neglect the lands already under cultivation or the cultivators who worked them. Whenever any famine raged, or the village was plundered, or rain fell short, or the crops failed for some other reason, the Peshwa's government never hesitated to grant a remission of rent, either partial or full, and sometimes for two years or more. When the village of Kanu in Tarf Nane was burnt in the year 1745-46, land revenue to the extent of one khandi and twelve maunds was remitted.[24]

In the year 1747-48, Ramchandra Ballal, officer in charge of the Parganas Bakvada and Jalalabad in Sarkar Bijyagad, represented that his districts were visited by a terrible famine, and in spite of his attempts at relief made in the shape of tagai advancement, several people had already succumbed to the effects of the scarcity of food. He therefore requested a reduction of the assessment for four years and his prayer was granted.[25]

In the year 1750-51, the villagers of Pachora, Pargana Wan, went to Poona and prayed for a remission of rent for the failure of crops and a remission of Rs. 1,313 out of Rs. 2,613 was granted. The Rayats were further permitted to pay off the remaining Rs. 1,300 in four annual instalments.[26]

During the administration of the First Madhava Rao, the village of Alandi in Tarf Chakan of Prant Junnar had been plundered in the year 1770-71, and on the representations of the Deshpande of the Tarf, the Peshwa granted full remission of rent for two years.[27]

One thing, in these kauls, is worth noticing as it leaves no doubt about the motive of the Peshwa in granting such remissions. It is always clearly stated that the kaul is granted in view of the improvement of cultivation. Although the Peshwa's government was always ready to help the Rayat in his distress, it did not forget the common prudence of enquiring into the genuineness of the alleged cases of difficulty and their extent. The following case may be cited as typical.[28]

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[24] P. D., Vol. III, p. 224.

[25] P. D., Vol. III, pp. 226-227.

[26] P. D., Vol. III, p. 231.

[27] P. D., Vol. VII, pp. 18-19.

"In 1763-64, Bhikaji Vishwanath, Havaldar of Tarf Khed Chakan and the Deshmukh and the Deshpande of Sarkar Junnar represented that the villages of Prant Junnar had been plundered and burnt by the Mughals; that it was therefore necessary that the Subhedar should offer some concessions to the cultivators, that the Subhedar, however, had not come and the sowing season was passing away. They asked permission to issue kauls to the Rayats. The following concession were consequently granted:

1. Villages which had been totally burnt down and robbed of cattle, forage and grain to be exempt from assessment for one year.

2 Villages partially burnt and partially plundered, to be subject to half the assessment for one year.

3. Villages which had been plundered but not burnt, to be subject to one-third assessment for one year.

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[28] P. D., Vol. VII, pp. 19-20. (Joshi's translation)

4. Villages which saved themselves by paying a subsidy to be subject to half the assessment for one year.

5. Villages which have received no harm, to be subject to full assessment.

6. The assessment for the following year to be fixed afterwards according to the circumstances of each village."

10. Policy of Taxation:

The last sentence in the above document strikes the keynote of the Maratha policy of taxation. Every man was to be taxed in proportion to his resources; not a pie more, not a pie less; this was the instruction that the Peshwas gave to revenue officers and this was the prayer that the Rayat made when he applied for a revision of assessment.

We have, in the foregoing pages, tried to show the measures adopted in connection with cases of general distress which affected villages and sometimes Tarfs and Parganas, but there were instances of individual distress. These arose specially from the misconduct of the Peshwa's own soldiers. We find in several documents, complaints of plunder and consequent loss, because the Peshwa or some of his high officers had encamped in the neighbourhood. In such cases the amount of loss was ascertained generally in the presence of the District Officer, and the affected parties were duly compensated. In the year 1768-69, the Peshwa Madhava Rao I had encamped at Garpir, Kasba Puna. The damage in this case was done in pitching the Peshwa's tent in some cultivated fields and also in erecting a temporary stable for his elephants. The villagers got Rs. 162 as compensation.[29] In the year 1773-74, some crops were injured in Kasba Supe in course of the Peshwa Madhava Rao II's state tour. Ananda Rao Trimbak, Subhedar of the Pargana, enquired into the amount of loss and the Rayats got a suitable compensation.[30]

11. *Irrigation*:

The remission of rent in times of difficulty, and payment of compensation in case of damage done by the government, were no doubt good measures; but these were by no means all that the Peshwas did for their subjects. The question of irrigation and tagai grant did not escape their attention. In fact the Hindu kings had taken good care for effectual irrigation of cultivated areas from the earliest times of Indian history, as can be proved by Kautilya's *Arthashastra* Kalhana's *Raja Tarangini* and the Girnar rock inscription of the Shaka Satrap Rudradamana. The Peshwas also followed this traditional Hindu method for improving agriculture. Irrigation by aqueduct was very common and this gave origin to the word 'patsthal' (from *pat*, an elevated water-course to convey water to a plantation or field), and that well was also used for irrigation purposes may be proved by the word 'motsthal.' But generally rain and river water was stored up for future use by the construction of dams. Sometimes the entire expense for building a new dam or of repairing an old one was granted by the government while the government frequently gave a part of the necessary expenses while the remainder was levied by public subscription.

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[29] P. D., Vol. VII, pp. 21-22.

[30] P. D., Vol. VI, p. 253.

"A letter to Govind Rao Yadava Kamavisdar of Pargana Kopal in Taluka Dharwar: The rice lands of the Pargana were irrigated by means of a dam in a canal in the Tungabhadra; the dam was damaged by rain. Two thousand Hons have recently been granted for repairing the dam, therefore, get it carefully repaired and the above-mentioned sum shall be deducted from the revenue of your Pargana."[31]

"A letter to the Mokadam of Mauja-Nasrapur, Tarf Khedebare: Lakshman Krishna has been ordered to construct a dam near Shri Baneshwar in the aforesaid Mauja at an expense of Rs. 800. It has been settled that half of the sanctioned expenditure, Rs. 400, should be given by the government and the other half should be realised from those whose lands were to be irrigated. The owners of such lands should, therefore, pay according to their share of half the sanctioned expenditure and you should also pay the share due to your land without making any objection."[18]

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[31] P. D., Vol. VII, p. 18.

12. *Tagai*:

The tagai served two purposes. It supplied the Rayats with necessary capital at a time of scarcity and famine, and at the same time saved them from the clutches of the money-lenders (Shahukars). The Peshwas were a century ago as much conscious of the impoverishing effect of a high rate of interest as the British Government is to-day. The Co-operative Credit Societies were still undreamt of, but the Peshwas tried their best to undo the evil in their own way. The economic theory of *Laisses Faire*, once popular and now practically rejected in Europe, was still unknown; and the Peshwa, as the father of his people, effectually interfered with the industrial organisation of the country. Such intervention was often beneficial, and there is no doubt that it was so, when he tried to save his Rayats from the cruel exactions of the unscrupulous. Although it will sound shocking to the worshippers of law, the Peshwas frequently excused emburdened tenants from paying interest and compelled the money-lenders to grant their victims easy terms of payment. At another place we have seen how the Zamindars and Patils of Taluka Shivner, unable to make their grievances known in any other way, had seceded to Kasba Ale ; one of these grievances was that the Rayats were over-burdened with debt and an enquiry was demanded as to the justice of the money-lender's claims. Their demand and the government order have been summed up in the document in question as follows : " You represent that in different villages the Rayats are in debt to the Sawkars (money-lenders). If the just claim is settled after examining the accounts, and if we find that an adequate sum in cash is wanting for payment you will repay the debt from the produce of the villages (grains, etc.). An enquiry about the justice of the claims will be made and when you find the interest too high you should not pay that, but a reasonable rate of interest should be fixed and the debt should be liquidated by instalments out of the real produce of the village (grains, etc.) "[53]

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[18] P. D., Vol. VII, p. 18.

It is needless to point out that mere legal suppression of usury is useless. So long as there is a need for capital, men in want will borrow at any interest when money is not available on reasonable terms. The tàgai removed this need. It was practically a state loan although the Mamlatdar had to provide for it out of his own resources. The Rayat was not oppressed for interest. Sometimes he got the loan without any interest and frequently easy terms of payment were granted. In the year 1750-51, Ragho Govinda was desired to advance Rs. 1,500 as tagai loan to Kasba Mukhde, in Pargana Patode and he was told that the money was to be recovered in two years.[34] No mention of interest is made in the letter. But in another document we find that while the current rate of interest was 75 per cent. the government reduced the interest to 25 p. c. on tagai advanced to the Rayats of Prant Rajpur.

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[53] P. D., Vol. VI, pp. 227-228.

"A letter to Khandoji Mankar: You represented that about five or six hundred khandis of grain have been given as tagai during the present year as well as during the last year. An order has been issued to realise it with the usual compensation. The present rate of interest is fifty or seventy-five p. c. The Rayats cannot pay so much. You have, therefore, prayed that some remission may be granted for the welfare of the Rayats. Taking into consideration the welfare of the Rayats it is now settled that the five or six hundred khandis of grain given as tagai should be fully realised with an interest of twenty-five p. c., before the month of Magh. Not a seer should be permitted to remain unpaid."[35]

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[34] P. D., Vol. III, p. 28.

A third document directs an officer, Lakshman Hari, not to dun Ibhramji Nadkar, Khot of Kasba Govale of the same Tarf, for the repayment of tagai as the crops had failed that year (1743-44).[36]

The tagai was advanced in both cash and kind, and generally by the Kamavisdar or the Mamlatdar out of his own purse, and in case of his dismissal before the recovery of the tagai loan, it was repaid by his successor in office.[37] Thus we see that the Peshwas did almost everything necessary and possible for the improvements of cultivation. Grants were made for irrigation works, special terms were offered for the reclamation of waste lands, tagai loan on reasonable interest and easy terms of payment was advanced to the Rayats to save them from the oppression of the money-lenders and finally to create interest in the permanent improvement of their land, kauls were granted for three to seven years and alienation by sale or mortgage was prohibited.

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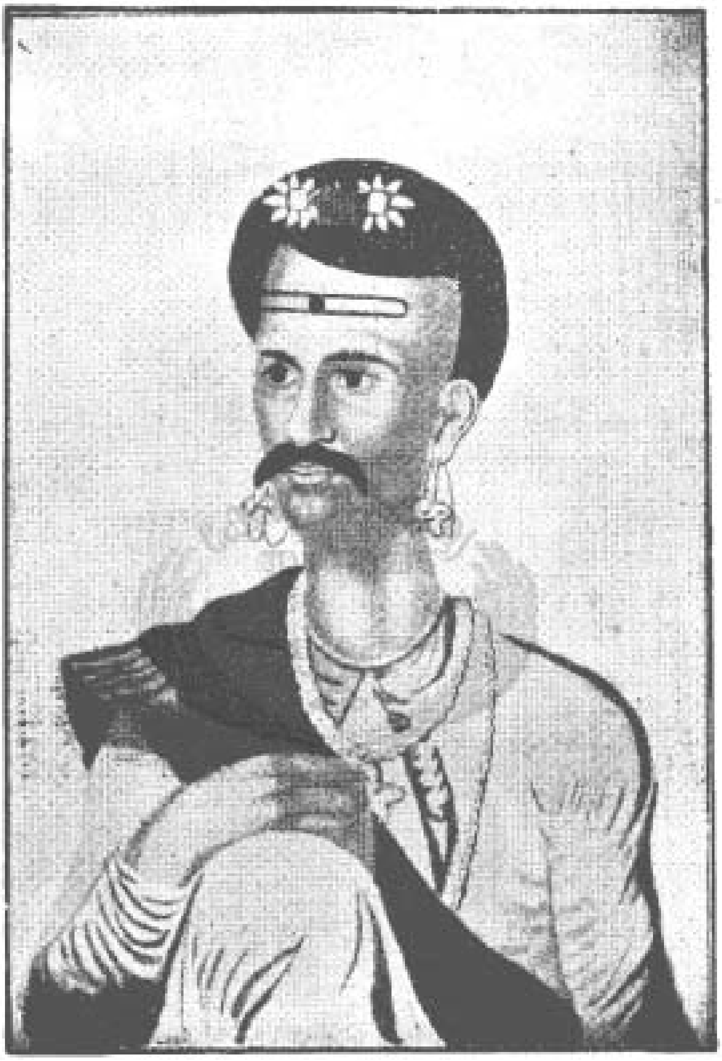
[35] P. D., Vol. III, p. 237.

[36] P. D., Vol. III, p. 236.

[37] P. D., Vol. VI, p. 240. "Therefore encourage the cultivation of the aforesaid Pargana by advancing Tagai. If you are dismissed your money should be with interest paid by the next incumbent of the Mamlat."



Nana Fadnavis

Mr. Ranade remarks, "The system of revenue management under Balaji Bajirao, Madhavrao and Nana Fadnavis was, on the whole, careful. New sources of revenue were developed, and the old improved. The land settlements made by the Peshwas during this period show that, while anxious not to oppress the rayats, every care was taken to insist on the rights of the government. Whenever the country needed that relief, leases varying from three to seven years were granted on the terms of Istawas, *i.e.*, gradually increasing assessments."[39]

The result of this liberal policy was that Wellington during his first campaign in the Maratha country found it "highly cultivated" and Elphinstone recommended the continuation of the Maratha system after the conquest of the Peshwa's territories by the English. The land revenue system of the Peshwas will not suffer by comparison with that of contemporary Ireland. The Maratha peasant was certainly better off than his Irish brother and he had practically gained the fixity of tenure and a fair rent for which the Irish were vainly crying even in the first decade of the 19th century. The Maratha peasants had been relieved of forced labour by Peshwa Madhava Rao I, while the French were still labouring under similar disadvantages until the red flood of the Revolution washed away all inequities. But theirs were not rights fought for and bought by blood. The gifts of a paternal despot could be taken away by another less benevolent, and the whole system was upset by that infamous prince Baji Rao II "born of the weakness of Raghunath Rao and wickedness of Anandi Bai." He reintroduced the old Muhammadan system of revenue-farming abolished by Shivaji so long ago. Mahals and Mamlats were sold to the highest bidder and the Peshwa's favourites were induced to bid high. The result was that Districts changed hands every year, and Mamlatdars no longer felt any interest in the welfare of the Rayats. If the Patil refused to assist the revenue-farmers, collection was made without his agency. So even the excellent village system of Maharashtra failed to be a remedy against the misrule of a wicked man.

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[39] Ranade, The Miscellaneous Writings, p. 358.

Before concluding this chapter we shall take a short notice of the Batai system here. As we have seen, the Maratha peasant and the Maratha government preferred a fixed rent either in cash or in kind. Their collection was always flexible, as "large remissions were made, whenever the seasons were found to be unfavourable. Under the old revenue system, cultivated lands alone paid revenue; and in bad years the revenue fell, and remissions had to be constantly made in the State accounts." [39]

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[39] Ranade, The Miscellaneous Writings, p. 359.

The Batai arrangement was, therefore, made where the soil was very poor and the produce extremely variable. "Whenever the Batai or system of crop division obtained, the Government, after deducting for seeds and other necessary charges paid by the rayats, left $\frac{1}{2}$ or $\frac{1}{3}$ of the crop to the cultivator, and took the rest for the State. In Shivaji's time, the proportions are stated to have been $\frac{2}{5}$ and $\frac{3}{5}$. The Batai system was not much in favor."[49]

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[49] Ranade, The Miscellaneous Writings, p. 358.

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CHAPTER VI

OTHER SOURCES OF REVENUE

In addition to the rent the Maratha government levied other taxes. It will not be possible to discuss all of them in detail here and I shall simply quote a list of these various taxes from Elphinstone's Report. We shall have to remember that these taxes called *Sivay Jama* or extra revenue varied in different places, and all of them were never simultaneously levied.

1. Extra Revenue :

1. *Duhuk Puttee*—a tax of one year's rent in ten on the lands of the Daishmookh and the Daishpande.
2. *Huk Choutaee*—a fourth of the fees levied every year.
3. *Mahr Mahillee*—a tax on the Inams of the Mahars.
4. *Meeras Puttee*—an additional tax once in three years on Meerasdars.
5. *Inam Tijaee*—a payment by Inamdars of ⅛ of the Government share of their lands annually.

6. *Inam Puttee*—an occasional tax imposed in times of exigency on the Inamdars.
7. *Pundee Gunna*—an additional levy equal to 12 p.c. on the Tunkha once in 12 years.
8. *Vihir Hoonda*—an extra tax on lands watered from wells.
9. *Ghur Puttee* or *Amber Saree*—a house tax levied from all but Brahmins and village officers.
10. *Bat Chappanee*—a fee on the annual examination of weights (this specially affected the retail traders but fell on others too) and measures.
11. *Tug*—a similar fee on examining the scale used for bulky articles.
12. *Luggun Tukka*—a tax on marriage.
13. *Pat-dam*—tax on widow re-marriage.
14. *Mhys Puttee*—a tax on she-buffaloes generally at the rate of one Rupee for a she-buffalo.
15. *Bakra Puttee*—a tax on sheep.
16. *Fudmash*—an occasional contribution in kind; often paid in commutation of service.

All these taxes were collected in the village by the Patil, although in the towns the government had a separate officer for that purpose. In addition to the levies enumerated above, the government also derived some income from other sources, those worth mentioning being :

1. *Beitul Maul*—or escheats.
2. *Wan Charaee*—paid by cattle grazing on Government lands.
3. *Ghaskuttanee*—or grass cut on Government lands.
4. *Dewastan Dubhee*—derived from offerings to idols.
5. *Khur-Boozwaree*—a tax on melon gardens on river beds.
6. *Watan Zapti*—produce of lands belonging to Zemindars sequestrated by Government.
7. *Succession Duty*—called *Nazar*. If a son succeeded his father he was exempted from this tax, unless he was a Jagirdar or a Government servant. And to these may also be added—
8. *Kotwalee* or town duty—which comprised besides the taxes included in the Sewai Juma a variety of other imposts, the most considerable of which was a tax of 17 p. c. on the sale of a house.[1]

2. *Census :*

Sometimes, when the normal means of the government proved inadequate for meeting the financial pressure, the government levied a

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[1] Elphinstone's spelling is retained here. The list is not exhaustive. Many local taxes are not mentioned.

Jasti Patti or *Karja Patti* on all land-holders, Inamdars included, and the tax generally amounted to a year's income. Some of the above-mentioned levies were farmed and some of them were paid in kind. But as we have seen in relation to the assessment and collection of land revenue, the Peshwa's government relied much on inspection and what may be regarded as statistical reports. Thus we find that an officer was sent to take a census of the houses, and she-buffaloes, in Pargana Ghosala in the year 1741-42, and papers of the preceding year's census were given to him.[1]

"Ganesh Dattaji has been sent to ascertain the taxable houses and she-buffaloes (belonging to cow-herds) in the Pargana of Ghosala; give him the papers of the preceding year." The next year (1742-43) Karkuns were deputed for the same purpose to Tarfs Pal, Ashtami, Nagothane, Ghosala, Birwadi and Mamla Tale.[2] It, therefore, seems that such statistical information was annually gathered (as Tarf Ghosala is mentioned also in the previous document).

3. *Exemption of Government Officers and Prabhus :*

But government officers were generally exempted from Ghar Patti (house-tax) and the

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[1] P. D., Vol. III, p. 328.

[2] P. D., Vol. III, p. 329.

Prabhus in the Konkan enjoyed similar exemption with the Brahmans.[4]

"Sanads to Kamavisdars : The Huzur has been informed that in the Konkan, house-tax is demanded from the Prabhus while it is not levied on the Brahmans. Don't levy that tax on the houses of the Prabhus in the Konkan Prant and you should return what you have already realised from them on that account." Consideration as usual was made for the poverty of the taxpayer in levying these extra taxes also. Thus we find that Moro Ganesh Behare of Satara was exempted from house-tax because the gentleman with his brother had been robbed twice and was, therefore, not in a position to pay (1776-77).

"A letter to Krishna Rao Anant, Mukkam Satara : Moro Ganesh Behare is a resident of Satara. The Huzur is informed that you have dunned his family for house-tax due to the government. The year before last the aforesaid gentleman was robbed by dacoits beneath Morgiri and lost his property. After that, his brother at Vadutha was also robbed last year of all his goods and killed. Therefore he is under great difficulties. So we have taken pity on him and exempted him from this tax. Do not, therefore, dun his family."[5]

P. D., Vol. VI, p. 298.

[5] P. D., Vol. VI, pp. 298-299.

The principle was that the levy should be *Jivan maphak* or in proportion to the resources of the tax-payer and these various taxes, although they look tremendous on paper, could not be very oppressive except in the hands of bad rulers like Baji Rao II. It is significant that although most of these taxes fell on lands, Mirasi lands always fetched as high a price as ten years' purchase. Some of these taxes however were not levied on the Rayats at all. Vancharai for instance was levied really to safeguard the interests of the peasants. The tax was imposed on the professional shepherds or *khilaris*, whose flocks were often let loose to graze freely in the fields and villages (mountainous regions where cultivation was difficult). To put a check on them these khilaris were required to take a license for their sheep and if the number ever exceeded that sanctioned in the license they had to pay a tax of Rs. 6 per hundred sheep. But the Rayats, whether Dhangar or Kunbi, was not to be taxed for the sheep that they might keep. This principle of levying Vancharai is clearly set forth in a letter written to Bapu Rao Yeshwant in 1767-68.

"A letter to Bapurao Yeshwant : You had been deputed to make an enquiry about the sheep of the khilaris, but complaint has reached us that you have levied Vancharai even upon the sheep of the Rayats.

Though there was no custom of levying that tax upon the Rayats, in the past you extorted Vancharai from them, and so they felt oppressed. It has, on this account, been settled that you should not exact it from the Rayats. Therefore make an enquiry about the sheep not belonging to the Rayats. Those who have got a license should be let alone, but those who graze their sheep along with the license-holders give trouble to the Rayats. Therefore carefully find out the number of unlicensed sheep and levy Vancharai at the rate of Rs. 6 per hundred. Deposit in the Sarkar what you can on account of Vancharai and take a receipt for it. But the Rayats, whether Dhangar or Kunbi, are not to be on any account troubled for the sheep that they may keep."[6] In fact these khilaris with their flocks had become such a nuisance to the farm lands as well as to the wood lands that in 1770-71, the government was compelled to take the drastic measure of confiscating the licensed as well as the unlicensed flocks grazing in Prant Shirval. The licensed flocks, of course, were restored to their owners shortly afterwards.[7]

4. *Forests :*

Now to pass on to the preservation of government forests for they were a source of income to the Peshwas. Forests, do not seem to have yielded much in cash. We find that a man paid Rs. 154-10 for a farm of the bherali palms in Pargana Ghosala for one year (1743-44)[8] and of course the Peshwas got something by selling their permission for cutting wood both for building purposes and for fuel; the usual fee for fuel was As. 4 per bullock load. The honey from the bee-hives, whatever it might have yielded, formed another item of the forest revenue. But it seems that the *kurans* were also included in the forest department. The Peshwas preserved the forests and kurans more for their direct produce than for any revenue as will be seen in the document below:

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[6] P. D., Vol. VII, p. 103.

[7] P. D., Vol. VII, p. 106.

" Balaji Krishna was appointed to the Mamlat of the Kurans and the following instructions were issued to him.

1. He should deliver to Government in Poona fifteen lakhs of bundles of grass, and should keep a similar quantity ready for Government use in Kurans within a radius of five or six Kos from the city. (This last quantity should be given to the stables and camel stables, on presenting a letter from the Peshwa's officers.)

2. He should take in his charge all the Kurans existing within a radius of fifteen to twenty Kos of Poona, whether belonging to

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[8] P. D., Vol. III, p. 250.

Government or to private individuals, and there establish Government Kurans.

3. He should deliver to Government in Poona 1,600 khandis of fuel and 150 khandis of coal.

4. Out of the timber, fuel, grass, bamboos, leaves and other produce realised in a private Kuran, a quantity sufficient to meet his annual wants should be given to the owner. The rest should belong to the Government and should be sold, excepting such portion as may be required for Government purposes, and the proceeds credited to the Government.

5. A duty of As. 4 per bullock load, or if possible more, should be levied from all traders carrying wood on bullocks, and Vancharai should be levied on all cow-herds grazing their flock in the Kuran and the proceeds should be credited to the Government." [9]

The Peshwas sometimes allowed government officers to take timber free for constructing their houses. Sometimes building materials were given to villagers in distress and in need of public help.

"The houses of the Kunbis of Mauja Talawade belonging to Moro Babu Rao having been burnt, Keso Krishna is ordered to give them 750 bamboos from the Kuran of Mauja Chas in

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[9] K B. Marathe's Summary, P. D., Vol. VI, p. 256.

Tarf Chakan."[10] For works of public utility building materials could be freely obtained from government forests with the sanction of the Peshwa, very easily obtainable on such occasions.

5. *Mints :*

A third source of revenue was the mint. The mints during the Peshwa period were, unlike those of our own days, in private hands. "The Hindu financier," says Mr. Ranade, "whose opinions were so prominently referred to in one of the articles on Indian affairs published in a recent issue of the *London Times*, reflected the views of his countrymen faithfully enough when he observed that 'No Government has the right to close its mints, or to say that the currency of the country was either deficient or redundant. That was a question solely for the bankers, traders and merchants to consider. If they do not require money they will not purchase bullion to be coined. The duty of Government is merely to assay all bullion brought to the mints for coinage and to return the value of the Bullion in money."[11] Shivaji also advocated the same policy in his reply to the prayer of the English that their "money should go current in his dominions."

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[10] P. D., Vol. VI, p. 255.

[11] The Miscellaneous Writings, p. 330.

Its natural consequence was that no less than twenty-six different sorts of gold coins of different value were current in Shivaji's time, and "in an official table published for the guidance of the Civil Courts in the Bombay Presidency, the names of no less than thirty-eight gold coins and over one hundred and twenty-seven silver coins are mentioned as still so far current in different parts of this Presidency as to make it worth while to give the relative intrinsic values of these local currencies in exchange for the Queen's coin."[18]

The inevitable corollary of this system was private minting; not free but licensed. For this license, the Sonar (the owner of private mints was usually a Sonar or Goldsmith) had to pay some royalty to the government which varied in different cases. But the license-holder had to stipulate for keeping up the standard proportion in the alloy and the purity of the metal used for coining purposes. A breach of this contract meant fine or forfeiture of the license. Even a random quotation of a document bearing on mints will illustrate the principle well.

"Balaji Bapuji is permitted to establish a mint at Kasba Nagothane and coin pice ten

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[18] Ranade, The Miscellaneous Writings, p. 331.

Masas in weight. If pice of the prescribed weight is coined it will be all right; but if the pice is made of a less weight, he will be fined." The permission was given for three years and for the license Balaji Bapu had to pay Rs. 50 for the first year (in four instalment of Rs. 12-8 each), Rs. 75 for the second year (four instalments), and Rs. 100 for the third year (four instalments).[13] Mr. Ranade points out that the document quoted above furnishes the first notice of such licensed private mints in the Peshwas' Daftar, and both Shahu and the Raja of Kolhapur had their own mints.

Though the Peshwas granted license for private mints they were by no means ready to tolerate unlicensed mints or debased coins. But in some provinces the Zamindars established their own mints and issued counterfeit coins. The most notorious in this respect was Subha Dharwar, and it was not very easy to put a stop to this corrupt practice, so profitable to the offenders. The first notice of counterfeit coins we find in a document of Balaji Baji Rao dated 1760-61.[14] It states:

"In Subha Dharwar the mints for coining Hons, Mohars, and Rupees issue false coins. In the old mints good coins were struck. Recently the Zamindars have established mints almost at every house and are issuing bad coins." The remedy proposed was to abolish these spurious mints and to establish one central mint for which a license was granted to Pandurang Murar.

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[13] P. D., Vol. II, p. 167.

[14] P. D., Vol. II, p. 164.

"It causes loss to the government. You represented that all these mints should be abolished and in their place one central mint should be established at Dharwar. Bad coins should be discontinued and good coins issued. Such a measure will be profitable to the government. Therefore agreeing with your view that the continuation of the issue of bad coins is not desirable and should be discontinued, the management has been entrusted to you. You should pull down the mints established in different places and establish a central mint at Dharwar. You should also destroy the bad coins and issue good ones." The mint charges was fixed at seven per thousand (six coins for the government and one for the manager). "The customary charge from former time is one Mohar for each thousand Mohars and one Rupee per thousand. The work of the mint should be profitable, therefore the Sawkars have been exempted from this charge for one year from Rabilakhar, San Ihide, to Rabilakhar, San Issanne Sitain. After this you should take the customary due of six per thousand coins and remit the same to the government. In addition to this, take one coin more with the free consent of the Sawdars in your own name, and remit that also to the government. Your dues will be afterwards fixed according to your service." But this reform could not be carried out till 1765-66 when the first Madhava Rao had to issue a circular letter to the Kamavisdar, Zamindars and Sawkars telling them that no payment should henceforth be accepted by the government except in new coins. We have many other instances of suppression of spurious mints and counterfeit coins.[15] But the government confined itself to supervision only, and the actual control of the currency was never undertaken. The currency was further strengthened by an extensive use of *hundis* or credit instruments. The Peshwas always instructed their revenue officers to make use of hundis in the transmission of money to the central treasury. How popular the use of hundi had become is seen in a letter written by one Ganesh Bhat, where he says that he has remitted Rs. 13-8 by hundi.[16]

6. *Customs Duties:*

We may now turn to the Peshwas' income from customs duties and other taxes levied on traders. These duties fell under two classes,

[15] P. D., Vol. VII, pp. 291-297.

[16] Rajwade, M. I. S., Vol. X, p. 21.

Mohatarfa or duties on traders, and Zakat which included duties on sales and purchases as well as octroi duties. A chart of the rates of Mohatarfa during the administration of Balaji Baji Rao Peshwa can be framed from four documents, a letter to the Kamavisdar of Mamla Revdanda written in 1742-43,[17] a letter to Nathuram Chaudhari dated the same year,[18] a Sanad to the officer in charge of Janjira Revdanda (1750-51)[19] and a Sanad to Shridhar Jivaji issued in 1752-53.[20] The Kamavisdar of Mamla Revdanda was asked to levy Mohatarfa at the following rate :

7. *Mohatarfa* :

1. The Kolis should be taxed at the rate of Rs. 8, 5 and 2 per palanquin (per year) according to its size and nature.
2. Shop-keepers should be taxed at the rate of Rs. 5, 6 and 7 per shop per year.
3. The blacksmiths should be taxed at the rate of Rs. 4 per shop per year.
4. The shoe-makers should be taxed at the rate of Rs. 4, 5 and 6 per shop per year.
5. The rate of tax on oilmen should be Rs. 5, 6 and 7 per oil mill per annum.

[17] P. D., Vol. II, pp. 299-301.

[18] P. D., Vol. III, pp. 301-302.

[19] P. D., Vol. III, p. 303.

[20] P. D., Vol. III, p. 304.

6. The rate of tax on goldsmiths should be Rs. 3 per shop per annum.

7. The rate of tax on potters should be Rs. 3 per wheel per annum.

8. The rate of tax on basket-makers should be Rs. 3 per house per annum.

9. The Gondhlis (worshippers of Devi or goddess of small-pox) to pay for their profession Rs. 3 per year.

10. The tax on boats passing the channel should be four annas for each small boat (fit to carry a load of five khandis) and eight annas for each big vessel.

Nathuram Chaudhari was informed that he should collect Mohatarfa from beldars (stone-quarry-men) at the rate of 5 per cent. of their income. Similarly Moroji Shinde, officer in charge of Revdanda, was told to levy Mohatarfa from masons, stone-cutters, and stone-diggers, at the rate of one day's income per month, and Shridhar Jivaji was informed that the current rate of Mohatarfa to be paid by the carriers was Rs. 1-4 for every bullock carrying cloth and grocery. The Zakat included the Thalbharit (tax to be paid at the place of loading), the Thalmod (tax to be paid at the place of sale) also Chhapa, a stamping-duty and Hashil which again in one document at least is described to be consisting of three items—Tafavat Dhakhala, Dasturi and Talab Dhakhala. In another document a tax called Shingshingoti (levied on cattle) is also included in the Zakat.

8. *Zakat :*

The Mohatarfa, as the above list will show, varied with the means of each individual shopkeeper, and can, therefore, be regarded as an income-tax. The Zakat was levied separately in every district, and this naturally led goods to be stopped frequently in their transit. This, however, was not peculiar to Maharashtra or to India. Tradesmen and merchants were similarly troubled in pre-revolutionary France, and, in Germany before the Zollverein. The Maratha merchants could evade the difficulty. "To remedy this inconvenience, there was a class called Hoondeekurrees in towns, who undertook for a single payment to pass articles through the whole country. These men arranged with the farmers of the customs, and were answerable to them for the sums due."[21] The Peshwa was not unaware of the inconvenience of frequent stoppage of merchandise in course of transit. In 1745-46, Peshwa Balaji Baji Rao ordered that goods passing between Sironj and Burhanpur should pay octroi (Zakat) at one place only.[22]

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[21] Elphinstone's Report on the Territories Conquered from the Peshwa, p. 30.

[22] P. D., Vol III, p. 312.

"A letter to Sankaraji Nikam: Zakat on elephants, and horses carrying goods of different descriptions from Sironj to Burhanpur should be collected at Sironj. Nothing should be charged at Burhanpur. If there is any custom of taking something as 'pansupari' gift, that alone should be taken. This practice has been observed from early times. When things of various descriptions are sent from Burhanpur, Zakat should be levied there and not at Sironj. This being the practice, we have been informed that you have demanded Hashil at Burhanpur although it was duly paid at Sironj. This letter is written on this information. You should collect only according to the customary practice, and should not introduce any innovation."

9. *Zamindars and Darakhdars*:

It may be noted here that Zakat was generally farmed to a person for a fixed sum, but these men were strictly warned not to oppress the people or to levy any unauthorised tax. As in the administration of land revenue the Peshwas followed the policy of encouraging the merchants and securing their prosperity and as the farming system was bound to be more or less inefficient from that point of view, we find that government officers were appointed during the administration of the second Madhava Rao for assessment and collection of Zakat. These officers often replaced the farmers altogether, but sometimes they simply supervised their work. The collection of Zakat, when under a government department, was conducted according to the Kamavis system and to it also the same checks of Zamindars and Darakhdars were applied. Two documents will be quoted here to illustrate the working of the principle. The first of these recounts the duties of the Zakat-Fadnis, of Bandar Pen, as follows:

1. The settlement of the fixed sum to be levied from any trader on account of octroi, should not be made without the consent of the Fadnis.

2. The accounts of octroi on exported goods should remain with the Fadnis.

3. All correspondence regarding octroi should be conducted and all orders regarding credit and debit should be issued by the Fadnis.

4. The octroi farms being abolished and the revenue being departmentally managed, writing work should be done by the Fadnis.

5. The Fadnis should be prompt in his work and should issue notes or passes without delay.[23]

The second document illustrates how the Zakat officers were also checked by Zamindars and hereditary officers or Darakhdars. Krishnaji Viththal, Jamenis of octroi, in Prant Kalyan, had some difference with the Zamindars about official duties. The following instructions were therefore issued to Uddho Dadaji and Apaji Vishwanath, Joint Kamavisdars of Zakat in the Prant:

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[23] P. D., Vol. VI, pp. 203-04. K. B. Marathe's summary.

1. "The Jamenis shall ascertain the amount of octroi to be levied, under orders of the Mamlatdar and in the presence of the Zamindars and shall prepare rough memorandum thereof on the spot, another memorandum being prepared by the Zamindar.

2. The Jamenis shall write the draft agreement setting forth the conditions on which a sub-contract of the octroi farm is given. The Majumdar shall enter the totals and when the agreement is approved by the Mamlatdar, the Fadnis shall write the *sanad*.

3. Passports to traders carrying bullock-loads from forts shall be written either by the Zamindars or by the Darakhdars, as may be customary at the particular post. In the former case the Fadnis shall date the passports, the Majumdar shall make his mark thereon, and the Mamlatdar shall seal them. In the latter case the passports shall be sent through the Zamindars.

4. At the end of the year the Jamenis shall compare his rough memoranda of receipts with those kept by the Zamindars and submit a detailed account to the Mamlatdar.

5. The Zamindars represent that the amount to be levied from the traders is fixed by them according to custom or according to

Kauls granted to them, and that in their absence, the work is performed by the Mamlatdars. As the Zemindars keep separate accounts of the tax, the rates should be fixed with their cognizance. The memorandum fixing the amount leviable, either for particular Mahal, or for the whole tract, from the post to the province, above the ghaut should be written by the Jamenis and marked by the Mazumdar, and it should bear the approving endorsement of the Mamlatdar. It should then be given to the Fadnis for being registered and finally recorded by the Mamlatdar. The copy to be sent to the *Thana* should be made by the Jamenis. The Zamindar should take a copy for reference.

6. Kauls to traders shall be written by the Jamenis; the Fadnis shall date them, and they shall bear the Zamindar's mark and the Mamlatdar's seal."[24]

10. Remission of Zakat and Mohatarfa :

In the above document mention has been made of kauls to traders. This will naturally remind us of the Kauls granted to cultivators for improvement of cultivation and other measures adopted for the same purpose. As land revenue was remitted from time to time in consideration of poverty of the Rayats, failure of rain, and above all, for the general and all-embracing reason of the improvement of agriculture, so these Zakat and Mohatarfa taxes were also, from time to time remitted. The Peshwa's government never meant to make their assessment and collection rigid; flexibility was preferred as it suited the circumstances well. In the year 1763-64, a greater supply of ghi, oil, joggery and turmeric being considered necessary the Kamavisdars in charge of Zakat, in Prants Poona and Junnar, were ordered to levy Zakat at half the usual rate.[27]

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[24] P. D., Vol. VI, pp. 204-206. K. B. Marathe's translation.

"A Sanad to Mahadaji Narayan and Sadashiva Raghunath Kamavisdars, Zakat, Prants Poona and Junnar: levy Zakat at half the usual rate upon the traders from Desh who would bring ghi, oil, joggery and turmeric, etc., till the festival of Dasra and excuse the other half, as it is necessary to import a greater quantity of these articles." Similarly the levy of *Tag* (a tax on balance—it came under the Mohatarfa) newly imposed on traders at Poona was abolished in 1769-70 on their representation as it pressed heavily on them.[28] The Peshwa's attention was not confined to the sellers alone, the consumers as the party most affected by trade regulations also shared his consideration.

[27] P. D., Vol. VII, p. 69.

[28] P. D., Vol. VI, p. 281.

Thus in a letter addressed to the Kamavisdars of Zakat, Prants Poona and Junnar 1763-64, we find that (1) "rice and salt and groceries brought from the Konkan were to pass free of Zakat. (2) Bhusara grains (pulses) were always exempted from Zakat. (3) Cultivators carrying grain and salt from Poona were to be exempted from Zakat as their property had been recently lost owing to war. (4) No fee was to be levied on cultivators purchasing bullocks and buffaloes in Prant Poona as they had been deprived of their cattle during the disturbance this year; traders, however, should pay the usual duty."[27]

11. Communication :

In times of famine and scarcity, the favourite remedy of English statesmen during the first four decades of the 19th century had been a sliding scale of tariff, intended to secure agricultural interest, and at the same time to procure relief to the distressed. The Maratha government on such occasions boldly met the difficulty by the total suspension of Zakat and temporary introduction of free import of foodstuff and agricultural necessities. But the means of communication in those days were not so advanced, and in spite of these wise measures famine had often terrible consequences. Means of communication, such as ferry-boats and roads, were not neglected by the Peshwa's government. The government sometimes granted money for the construction of ferry-boats, and the roads were in general good, particularly in the neighbourhood of big cities. The Duke of Wellington, then Sir Arthur Wellesley, remarks in his despatches "The roads are excellent except when the rain is heavy." Among the papers of the second Madhava Rao, we find a letter to Balaji Mahadev, Mamlatdar of Taluka Shivner, (1783-84), ordering him to repair the road through the pass of Malje in Tarf Shivner, one-fourth of the total expense was to be paid from the land revenue of the district and the remaining three-fourths were to be raised by the Kamavisdars of Zakat. The same road was for a second time repaired nine years later. The contribution to the major portion of the expenses by the Kamavisdars of Zakat shows that these roads were mainly meant for trade purposes.[28]

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[27] P. D., Vol. VII, p. 68.

12. *Foundation of New Market-towns :*

We have casually noticed the kauls granted to traders. The cultivators, we have seen, got a kaul for bringing waste land into cultivation and for the improvement of agriculture in general, and kauls were granted to merchants for repopulation of old and deserted market-towns, for foundation of new market places and for the improvement of trade and commerce in general. A kaul was granted to the Shete Mahajan, shop-keepers and traders, and persons following other occupations of Kasba Mukhde in Pargana Patode, of Sarkar Sangamner in the Subha of Khujiste Buniad in 1750-51, because business in the old market of the aforesaid village was not thriving well owing to some disturbance. The kaul was granted not only for the improvement of the trade and for the benefit of the tradesmen, but also because it was to the profit of the government as well. By this kaul old residents of the place were to be exempted from export and import duties for three years, and to be subjected only to the payment of house-tax (levied according to the profession of the house-owner); and new-comers were to be exempted from export and import duties for five years, and from house tax for three years.[29]

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[28] P. D., Vol. VIII, p. 215.

Similarly, when a new *peth* or suburb was established at Kasba Barshi in 1777-78, a kaul was granted to traders exempting them from all taxes for seven years.[30] In the year 1776-77 Chabildas Gulabdas of Burhanpur was exempted from half the usual Hashil for opening a new shop of cloth and embroidery[31]; and in the year 1789-90 two merchants, Pomaji Naik and Govind Naik Bhake, got a refund of money illegally exacted from them by a Mamledar of Zakat on bhusara grains, specially because their supply proved a great source of relief in time of a famine at Poona.[32]

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[29] P. D., Vol. II, pp. 184-185.

[30] P.D., Vol. VIII, p. 223.

It is to be noted here that special inducements were offered to new traders to come and settle in the Peshwa's territories. Vithoji Krishna Kamat, a Shenvi merchant, having offered to come with five ships and settle at Bassein as a trader, Peshwa Balaji Baji Rao ordered a palanquin and clothes of honour to be given to him in addition to partial exemption from Zakat.[33] Sometimes when tradesmen were pressed hard for money by their creditors, the government interfered in their favour and induced the money lenders to accept easy terms of payments.

13. Shete Mahajan :

Generally the task of establishing a new suburb or market town was entrusted to an enterprising man, who was rewarded on the successful conclusion of his labours with a watan of *Shetepan*. The perquisites of this watan were quite analogous to those of the village officers, and in this case too the Peshwa got important services without any payment whatever from the government treasury. The shop-keepers and traders, who actually paid the Shete's remuneration, had no reason for grumbling, as he was, like the Patil, the natural guardian of his clients' interests. The perquisites of the Shete watan were as follows:

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[31] P. D., Vol. VIII, p. 225.

[32] P. D., Vol. VIII, p. 225.

[33] P. D., Vol. II, p. 139.

1. One betel-nut on every weekly market day from each Bania's shop.

2. Five betel leaves every day from each shop of the leaves sellers.

3. Nine *taks* (⅛ seer) of oil every week from every oilman's shop.

4. Half a seer of gram for each bag of grain sold in the market.

5. Quarter seer of groceries for every bag of grocery sold.

6. A handful of vegetables from every vegetable shop.

7. One *pasodi* (a kind of rough cloth) a year from the weaver community in the suburb.

8. Two pairs of shoes from the shoe-maker community in the suburb.

9. Quarter seer of wheat or rice from every shop on such festivals as Dasra, Diwali, Shimga and Varsha Pratipada.

10. A handful of grain for every bag of corn measured by the measure of the Shetes.

11. Flesh and dried fish to be taken when offered for sale in the market by butchers and fish-sellers.

12. A piece of cocoanut at every marriage celebrated in the suburb.

13. The houses of the Shetes to be exempted from house-tax.[34]

14. Government Intervention:

The Peshwa's government interfered actively in commerce and manufacturing industries. Merchantmen required a *dastak* or passport for coming to or leaving a port in the Peshwa's territories.[35]

The Peshwas were perfectly justified in regulating the weights and measures, as otherwise retail dealers could cheat their customers with impunity. But the same thing cannot be said of Chhapa, or stamping of cloth for which also a fee was charged. The stamping duty on cloth was 5 p.c. *ad valorem* on imported cloth, and 2½ p.c. on cloth locally manufactured, and sellers of unstamped cloth were ordered to be fined.[36]

Government interference did not stop here; the manufacturers of turbans were, actually told, what metal they should melt for the manufacture of the brocade and what should be the length of the turbans.[37]

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[34] For another paper recounting similar perquisites see P. D., Vol. VII, pp. 284-285.

[35] See letter to Ananda Rao Dhulap. Peshwas' Diary, Sawai Madhava Rao, Vol. III, pp. 226-227.

[36] P. D., Vol. III., pp. 320-21.

"Instructions about the manufacture of brocade for *sangas* at Kasba Jalnapur in the Pargana of the same name:

1. At present brocades are made by melting Chandvad Rupees. Their quality is therefore bad. Formerly Malharshai, English, Surati or Patani coins were melted for making brocades. The same practice should be renewed.

2. "*Khar*" made by burning plantain trees is now used in preparing silk; brocades therefore become blackish. Manufacturers should be warned and made to use *datyakhar* (Kharsalt).

3. *Pagotas* are now made of a length of twelve to fifteen cubits; this is not proper. Their length should not be less than thirty cubits. Manufacturers should be warned, and asked to make pagotas of a length of thirty cubits."

15. Monopoly:

Monopoly was also given for purchase and sale of cocoanut, ghi, and even for brokery in some cases. Sometimes the government went to the extent of fixing a price for certain articles.

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[37] P. D., Vol. VIII, pp. 236-237.

We should however judge the Peshwas by their motives. The principle of Laissez Faire had not gained any recognition in Europe in those days, and even in England, the future birthplace of free trade, protective duties and bounties were in fashion; and what was the sliding scale of duties on corn but an attempt to fix a minimum price for agricultural produces of the land? The Peshwas also did the same thing, and, on the whole, their subjects were not badly off.

16. Ship-building encouraged:

We have seen how owners of new shops and importers of cheap grains were partially exempted from Hashil. An over-sea trade had grown up. The Peshwas encouraged building of ships or gallibats.'

"Chimnaji Ganesh Sathe of Kaliye in Tarf Majgaum in Taluka Ratnagiri having built a new ship was exempted from Octroi and other taxes on goods brought in the ship from other ports to his village for household use. His ship was also exempted from liability to forced service." (Marathe's Translation)[38]. And we find Maratha merchants settling in coast towns of Arabia, and Maratha merchantmen visiting Chinese waters. (One Narottam Joshi is described as a resident of Muscat, in a letter to Admiral Anand Rao Dhulap).[39]

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[38] P. D, Vol. VIII, p. 226.

In a document published by Mr. V. K. Rajwade in the 10th volume of his "Sources of Maratha History," one Asaram Vinayak is spoken of in the following terms: "He is a merchant of high position. His ships go to China. He has considerable trade with the English."[40]

We may note here that the Maratha naval officers could not claim salvage money from a subject of the Maratha empire for recovering ships from pirates.

"A merchantman with a cargo on board on its way to Bassein was taken by pirates. From them it was recovered by men serving in the navy under you and you also came to know that the ship belonged to the merchants * *. Therefore enquire whether the ship belongs to the merchants and Krishnaji Raghunath. If it belongs to them, restore to them the cargo that you may have found and the gallibat, and get from them an acknowledgment of receipt." It is to be noted that no salvage money is mentioned in any part of the document; such an item was not likely to be omitted by a Maratha officer, because even *antast* or bribe is mentioned in state papers.[41]

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[39] P. D., Vol. VIII, p. 226.

[40] Rajwade, M.I.S., Vol. X, p. 263.

[41] P. D., Vol. II, pp. 141-142.

17. *Excise:*

Excise duties, as a source of income, may be ignored altogether. For in controlling the manufacture and sale of liquor, the Peshwa acted not only as the secular head but also as the ecclesiastical head of the state. Here, his revenue policy was influenced by religious ideas. Drinking was forbidden by the *Shastras* and the Peshwa, as the head of a great Hindu empire, tried to enforce this injunction. In the year 1775-76, during the administration of the second Madhava Rao, Balaji Ganesh, the officer in charge of Taluka Devgad, was ordered to stop the manufacture of liquor from cocoanut trees from the beginning of the next year.[42] A similar order was sent to the officer at Vijaydurg on the same date.[43]

But a government cannot expect to enforce religious injunctions strictly without causing hardship to the people, and these orders were from time to time modified in order to mitigate such inconvenience. Some of the Rayats earned their living by the manufacture of liquor mainly for the Portuguese and Christian soldiers in the Peshwa's employ. Some provision had to be made for these people. Accordingly Peshwa Balaji Baji Rao allowed the Bhandaris and Kolis of Prant Firgan to manufacture wine (1754-55), but they were strictly ordered not to sell or to give wine to Brahmans, Prabhus, Shenvis and government servants.[44]

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[42] P. D., Vol. VI, p. 300.

[43] P. D., Vol. VI, p. 300.

For the convenience of the European soldiers in the Peshwa's service, the second Madhava Rao allowed them to distil liquor for their own use.

"Some Portuguese and Christians are employed under Syed Ahmad Gardi, who is serving under Ragho Vishwanath. They always require liquor. Let them therefore establish a distillery and manufacture wine for their own consumption. Do not present any obstruction to it."[45]

18. Government Servants exempted from Zakat :

We may take here a passing notice of the exemption from Zakat enjoyed by government servants. "The Konkanastha Brahmin Karkoons," says Ranade, "who had monopoly of all the Secretariat or Daftar offices, and received respectable salaries, obtained the privilege of having their goods exempted from Custom duties and ferry charges when they imported grain and other goods from outside ports and places."[46] In justice to the Peshwa, it ought to be pointed out that the Brahman Karkuns enjoyed these privileges, not as Brahmans, but as government officers. Government officers, other than Brahmans, also shared these advantages. In 1744-45, Babaji Chapaji Shenvi, the farmer of Zakat in Prant Sasti (Salsette) was informed that:

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[44] P. D., Vol. III, p. 332.

[45] P.D., Vol. VI, p. 300.

[46] The Miscellaneous Writings, p. 351.

1. "Fish purchased by government servants for their own consumption should be exempt from duty.

2. That the following articles, when purchased by government officers to the amount mentioned below, should also be exempt—twenty-five plantains, five cocoanuts, gur, dates, dried dates and sugar, to the amount of five seers.

3. That government servants and Brahmans should be exempt from ferry charges."[67]

On the whole the revenue administration of the Peshwa was conducted on sound principles, well calculated to secure the wealth and welfare of the Rayats. But the weak point of the system was not the dishonesty of Maratha officers which could be checked, but the absolutism of the Peshwa which found its worst exponent in Baji Rao Raghunath. The system worked so well under Balaji Baji Rao and his son that it could be favourably compared with the revenue system then prevalent in European countries. Its great advantage was that assessment and collection were flexible and could be regulated according to the actual condition of each individual district.

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[67] P. D., Vol. III, pp. 308-310.

19. Total Revenue :

We do not know what was the total revenue of the Peshwa's government. Lord Valentia estimates it at Rs. 7,164,724.[48] But we do not know how far this figure is reliable, and upon what data it is based. Mr. J. Grant estimated the total revenue of the Maratha Empire at six crores towards the close of the 18th century. According to him the Peshwa's revenue "reckoning chout from the Nizam, Tippoo, and Bundlecund Rajputs, will be found to amount to at least three crores of rupees.[49] Mr. Elphinstone's estimate is more moderate. According to him the total revenue of the Peshwa's dominions, excluding Ahmedabad and the lands resumed from Bastin, amounted in December, 1815, to Rs. 9,671,735. He arrived at this figure after a detailed examination of the Peshwa's revenue[50] and he has supplied figures for every province and every district. These figures were compiled by him for the information of the Governor-General and his Council. And as he suggested in his covering letter these

[48] Scott Waring, Hist. of the Marathas.

[49] J. Grant, An Historical and Political View of the Deccan, London, 1798, pp. 23-24 and 26.

[50] Unpublished papers in the Imperial Records Office, Calcutta, Secret papers, Nos. 42 & 43, 1816.

would be useful should occasion for territorial exchange ever arise. As Elphinstone was at Poona at the time and in close touch with the Peshwa's government we may accept his estimate as fairly accurate. He had no reason to give his superiors an exaggerated figure and in his estimate the Chauth naturally found no place. According to Lt.-Colonel Blacker, the Peshwa's "clear Revenue was two crores and ten lacs of rupees annually."[51]

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[51] Blacker, *Memoir of the Operations of the British Army in India*, p. 27.

APPENDIX E

Elphinstone's Estimate to the Peshawa's Revenue.

Poona, December, 1815.

SIR,

I have the honor to enclose the Details of the Paishwas Revenue, of which I transmitted an Abstract, in my Despatch to His Excellency the Governor-General. I did not forward these Papers at that Time as they are of no General Interest, I send them now because occasions may arrise (such as exchanges &ca.) when it would be convenient to refer to them and it is therefore desirable to have them on Record. In the same view I enclose a statement of the lands assigned to Holcar. The date is old and the amount of the Revenue must have altered since then. Holcar may also have much aquisitions in the Interval that has past but this Document contains the possessions of his Family seventeen years ago and the changes in that Period may be ascertained by a Reference to recent Transactions.

I have the honor to be
SIR,
Your most obedient humble servant,

M, ELPHINSTONE.

To

J. ADAM, ESQ.,
&c. &c. &c.

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Abstract of the Paishwah's Revenue.

Praunt Kokun	25,68,594
Praunt Carnatic including Beejapoor	19,52.183
Praunt Candeish including Bauglana and Berar	10,05,344
Praunt Poona, Joonair, Nuggur & Painair	7,28,118
Praunt Gungterree	5,65,769
Praunt Wye Sattara	2,99,142
Praunt Swadeish, Ballaghaut ...	4,66,023
Praunt Gazerat	9,76,362
Praunt Serole	0,03,866
Country North of tho Nurbudda ...	0,17,843
Mawul	1,63,927

Praunt Kurhar	7,34,322
Batta of 8 P. Ct. upon the Khasgee	1,90,240
Total ...	96,71,735

To the above is to be added the revenues of Ahmedabad and of the Lands resumed from Bastin.

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CHAPTER VII

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

1. Primitive Simplicity of the Maratha System:

The system of administration of justice was simple and suited to the temper of the time. Codified law there was none and procedure was uncertain and informal. For one, the judiciary depended upon the old Sanskrit treatises on law like Mitakshara and Manu's Code, for the other, they had to depend upon old customs. And as those old customs prescribed, among other forms, trial by ordeal, the Maratha judges allowed ordeal by fire and water as well as appeal to divine intervention in the form of an oath taken in a sacred temple. But the Chhatrapati Maharajas and the Peshwas after them acted more like the patriarchs of old than modern judges. What law there was, was not strictly enforced in civil suits. Legal exactitude was not their ideal. Amicable settlement was encouraged, and an attempt was always made to give a suitor every facility for proving his case. Sometimes consideration was made for a defeated party, to ensure good feeling between the parties in future. Thus in the suit of Maloji bin

Shahaji Bhanga *vs.* Hiroji bin Narsoji Bhanga about the proprietary right of a Patilki watan although the latter had failed to substantiate his claim, the *Panch* directed Maloji to give Hiroji a site to build a house on and 30 bighas of land.

"A piece of land about 30 cubits in length and about 15 cubits in breadth in the inhabited portion of the aforesaid village and the Patilki right of 30 bighas of the superior, ordinary and inferior classes out of the cultivable land of the village have been given to Hiroji, son of Narsoji Bhanga by the assembled *got.*"[1] (*Got*—castemen.

2. *Pratap Sinha's Yadi:*

The old customs about procedure were compiled and arranged in a *yadi* by Pratap Sinha Maharaj, Chhatrapati of Satara. Pratap Sinha reigned from 1808-1839 A.D. and the fall of the Peshwas took place in the year 1818. His reign, therefore, coincided with the early period of English administration in the Bombay Presidency. But the rules and regulations drawn up by him in his yadi were based upon the old customs of the land, and give us a clear idea of the policy by which the old Maratha rulers were guided in the administration of justice. Says Chhatrapati Pratap Sinha in the *Nyaya-*

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[1] P. D., Vol. I, pp. 179-181.

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dhish Prakaran of his yadi—"The good old rule of this realm has been to make amicable settlement of all disputes through the proper exertion of the neighbours and to call a *Panchayet* only when there is no other remedy."[2] He goes on to say that this excellent custom should be encouraged and the Patils, Mamledars and Shete Mahajans (in towns and market places) should try to induce the parties, if they came to them, to settle their dispute by arbitration. Even serious quarrels, beyond the jurisdiction of Patils and Shete Mahajans and Panchayets appointed by them, says the Raja, it would be well if settled through the arbitration of neighbours.[3] Intent on the welfare of his subjects, and perhaps impelled by the good old custom, the Raja says that in case of settlement by arbitration the parties would be exempted from the payment of *Harki*, which they would have to pay, if the case was referred to Royal Courts or Royal officers. In case the parties failed to settle their disputes amicably, they should go to an arbitrator and the Raja assures us that such an arbitrator need not fear Royal displeasure for his laudable efforts.[4]

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[2] B. I. S. M., Tritiya Sammelan Vritta, pp. 51-52.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] The original document has been published in the Tritiya Sammelan Vritta of the Bharat Itihas Sanshodhak Mandal by Mr. Bhaskar Vaman Bhat.

3. The Separation of the Executive and the Judiciary unknown :

When such efforts for amicable settlement or settlement by arbitration failed, the parties had recourse to the regular instruments of justice. The judicial officer in the village was the Patil as usual, above him the Mamlatdar and the Sarsubhedar and above all the Peshwa or his minister as the representative of the theoretical head of the state, the Raja of Satara, who was like the King of England, the fountain of justice and honour. In towns, learned judges, well-versed in the Shastras, were appointed for judicial duties and were called Nyayadhish. Thus we see the Maratha statesmen were not acquainted with the theory of the separation of the Executive, the Legislative, and the Judiciary. The Peshwa and his minister, the Sarsubhedar the Mamlatdar and the Patil in the village exercised all these widely different functions. The Nyayadhish was a Judiciary pure and simple.

4. Panchayet :

The great instrument of administration of civil justice was the Panchayet. Pratap Sinha Maharaja says that for cases of minor importance the Patil in the village and the Shete Mahajan in the towns and market-places could appoint

Panchayets. The parties on such occasions had to sign a *Rajinama* or agreement to abide by the decision, and the Panchayet was then to proceed with its enquiry, draw up a *saransh* or summary of the case and pass its judgment. The judgment had to be confirmed by the Mamlatdar. But if it was discovered that the Panchayet was corrupt or prejudiced against a party, the case was to be reported to the Mamlatdar, and if the Mamlatdar after proper enquiry found the Patil's report correct, the case was to be sent to the Sarkar. If the Patil refused to appoint a Panchayet or to dispose of the case in a legal manner, or if the parties rejected a Panchayet of their own village, the case was to be referred to the Mamlatdar; it would then be the Mamlatdar's duty to appoint a Panchayet with the Patil's cognizance or to assemble a Panchayet at a place other than the village of the disputants. In serious cases beyond the jurisdiction of the Patil or officers of his rank, the Mamlatdar was to appoint in the first instance an arbitrator with the consent of the parties. Failing this measure a Panchayet in the usual manner had to be appointed and the usual Rajinama had to be signed. The decision of the Panchayet was generally confirmed and upheld by the Government unless there was a charge of corruption against the members of the Panch.

5. *Panchayet and Jury :*

The trial by Panchayet was in many respects like the trial by jury. The members of the Panch, it may be noted, were not paid out of the government treasury like the amateur judges of ancient Athens, and it is not certain whether they got any allowance for their trouble. Elphinstone says that they sometimes got some reward from the parties if the case was a protracted one. But Pratap Sinha strictly forbids any such gratification, and in theory at least it seems such private presents were not permitted. The Chhatrapati threatens to punish both the giver and the taker of bribe even if the former happened to be the party in the right.[5]

But the Panchayet, was not exactly like the modern jury. The modern jury is presided over by a judge, but the Panchayet was not always presided over by a government officer, and when a Panchayet from the disputants' village was chosen (as was generally done), the members were bound to be more or less acquainted with the facts of the case and came to take their judicial seat with more or less bias. Moreover the parties were sometimes allowed to nominate the members of the Panchayet, each party naturally nominating its own advocates.

[5] B. I. S. M., Tritiya Sammelan Vritta, p. 53.

In modern times, although the parties cannot nominate the jury, they can considerably influence the empanelment by exercising the right of challenging a juryman. As the attendance of the members of a Panch depended simply upon their sense of duty and dread of public opinion, it was bound to be more or less irregular. And when they were nominated by the parties perhaps they sometimes acted more like pleaders than judges. They were also hampered by the absence of any authority on their part to enforce their decision. Their order unless vetoed by the government was enforced by the Mamlatdar who also placed at their disposal a peon for summoning the defendant and witnesses to their presence.

6. *Decision, in the absence of a party, not binding :*

It is noteworthy that a decision arrived at in the absence of either of the parties was not deemed legally valid and the absent party could afterwards appeal against it and have it quashed. But very severe pressure was sometimes put upon the relatives of the absentee to make him appear in the court.

"After that, hard times ensued and to earn my living I left my daughter and mother in the village and went in search of some service. Then Valimbe went to Ramchandra Pandit and had my mother arrested. My mother was there put to great trouble for four months and was then made to sign an agreement that she would produce her son in court within three months" (Statement of Shamji Ganghadhar Adkule in Shamji Ganghadhar and Gopal Tukdev Adkule *vs.* Bakdev and Gopal Ganghadhar Valimbe).[6] A man of rank could send his Karkun to represent him.

The defeated party had always to sign a document called *Yejitkhat* by which he renounced all claims to the property in question in favour of his opponent, and the winner had to pay a *Sherni* or *Harki* generally amounting to twenty-five per cent. of the value of the disputed property or watan. But, as in assessment of revenue, consideration was made for his pecuniary condition and sometimes he was exempted from payment altogether and often a reduction adequate to his means was made. The Harki of twenty-five per cent. even should not be regarded as excessive, as the suitors in the Maratha courts were not required to pay any court-fee, and the services of professional lawyers were both unknown and unnecessary.

7. *Appeals :*

An appeal against the decision of the Panchayet could be made only on the plea of corruption, but if the appellant failed to substantiate his charge he had to pay a fine or *Gunhagari,* and as his co-villagers generally sat on the Panchayet the appellant ran the risk of suffering in the public opinion. The Gunhagari was usually fixed according to the means of the appellant and it may also be noted here that both in appeals as well as in original suits parties had to give security for abiding by the decision of the court.

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[6] Watan Patren Nivada Patren, p. 3.

For hearing appeal cases a fresh Panchayet could be appointed or the Peshwa's minister or the Mamlatdar (as the case might be) might decide the case without a Panchayet. Original cases might also be disposed of in a similar method. But as Elphinstone points out "though it rested with him (the Government officer) to decide whether or not the case required a Panchayet, yet it was reckoned gross injustice to refuse one on a question at all doubtful, and it was always reckoned a sufficient ground for ordering a new investigation when there had been no Panchayet."[7] This popularity of Panchayets clearly proves that they were not generally open to corruption; although Elphinstone thinks that "the Panchayets themselves were open to corruption and to partiality." The Panchayets were popularly called "*Panch-Parmeshwar,*" and the members of the Panch in many documents are addressed by the parties as their parents (माय बाप). The people of Maharashtra would not have regarded the voice of the Panch as the voice of God, unless it fully deserved their confidence.

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[7] Elphinstone's Report, p. 58.

8. *Members of the Panch :*

Before we proceed further we may take note of the status of the men who were called upon to serve on the Panch. The Panchayet called to decide the suit of Bhanga *vs.* Bhanga already referred to, consisted of the Deshmukh, Deshpande and the gots (*got* literally means a caste as considered collectively, or relations and kindreds considered collectively). Hence it was a trial by peers. Elphinstone says that in deciding boundary questions the Panchayet was constituted of Patils, Deshmukh and Deshpande, assisted by the Mahar. We know from the reports of other cases that in suits about watans, the Zamindars of neighbouring Parganas as well as the Patils of the adjoining villages were called upon to serve on the Panchayet. In fact these rustic judges were expected to be well acquainted with the unwritten customary law of the country. In a document published in *Sanads and Letters* of Rao Bahadur Ganesh Chimnaji Wad (edited by P. V. Mawjee and D. B. Parasnis) we find mention of a Majalasi (a council) consisting of Rajsabha and Brahmansabha appointed to hear an appeal case. The members of the Majalasi are described as people who have property (vritti) and who are directly or indirectly acquainted with the customary law of property. Consonant with this principle a dispute relating to the right of priesthood (Appana Bhat *vs.* Shripat Bhat) was referred to the Brahman community of Karhad for settlement [8] and the witnesses summoned were Joshis or fellow priests.

9. *Government sanction necessary for a Panch :*

A Panchayet, however qualified, could not legally proceed to perform judicial duties unless properly authorised by the government, but such irregularities were sometimes overlooked by the Peshwas in consideration of the motive of the Panchayet. A case in illustration may be quoted here :

"A dispute between Pilaji bin Atmaji Ambare, and Sambhaji bin Krishnaji Ambare, in regard to the Khoti of Chirani in Tarf Khed of Taluka Suvarnadurga was without authority decided with the aid of a Panch by Ragho Vishwanath Ganpule, a Karkun attached to the temple of Shri Bhargavaram, and a document bearing the seal of the deity was issued by him. His brother was therefore taken to the Subha and was called upon to account for Ragho's conduct. The matter having reached the Peshwa, a pardon was given to Ragho, and his brother was ordered to be released."[9] The decision by this informal Panchayet was also ordered to be revised.

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[8] P. D., Vol. VII, p. 143.

10. *Evidence:*

In civil disputes the parties were required to produce documentary as well as oral evidence, according to the nature of the case. They could however demand a decision by ordeal, of which various forms were in practice.

Let us see who the witnesses generally called upon to give oral evidence were, and before whom an ordeal, if resorted to, was undergone. These were generally the village officers, the *Pandhar* or the villagers and the gots or caste people, men well-versed in the history and traditions of the village or supposed to be so. From the evidence of old people handed down to us through the carefully recorded summaries of civil suits, we learn that the past history of the village and its old traditions were orally transmitted from generation to generation. Of the Pandhars the most important witnesses were the balutas who it seems, were fairly well acquainted with the traditional history of the village and its watan-holders.

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[9] P. D., Vol. VII, p. 145. Mr. Bapu Purushottam Joshi's summary.

That their evidence had very great weight and was considered essentially necessary will be found at a glance at the list of witnesses still preserved for us in the old records. Here we shall give three lists only. In a dispute (1749-50)[10] regarding the Joshi and Kulkarni watans of Jalgaon in Pargana Supa and Jalgaon in Tarf Karhepathar in Prant Poona, Dado Shivdev, the defendant, signed a Rajinama, or agreement to abide by the decision (literally evidence) of the Pandhar of the villages in question.

The names of the witnesses summoned are as follows:

1. Sultanji bin Duryaji Patil.
2. Limbaji bin Mankoji Patil.
3. Subhanji bin Bapoji Patil.
4. Shetyaji bin Rayaji Patil.
5. Piraji bin Santaji Jadhava Chaugula.

Balutas:

1. Babu bin Mankoji Sutar (Carpenter).
2. Suryaji bin Udaji Lohar (Blacksmith).
3. Subhanji bin Navji Kumbhar(Potter).
4. Udaji bin Mankoji Chambhar (Shoemaker).
5. Subhanji bin Jivaji Gurab (attendant of village temple).
6. Vaghoji bin Limbaji Koli (fisherman and carrier of water).

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[10] P. D., Vol. I, pp. 172-177.

7. Malharji bin Raju Nhavi (Barber).
8. Maniknak bin Rajnak (Mahar).
9. Yesnak bin Nimbnak (Mahar).
10. Sambnak bin Ajnak Mang (Drummer).

In a dispute about the Patilki watan of Wadgaon Budruk[11] (1741-42) separate statements were made by different groups of Pandhars, and their names are quoted below in groups as in the document:

GROUP 1.

1. Bud Mali (Gardener).
2. Shivji bin Kondji Nhavi (Barber).
3. Bajaji bin Badjoji Parit (Washerman).
4. Raynak bin Saynak (Mahar).
5. Hasa bin Chandnak (Mahar).

GROUP 2.

1. Nimbaji bin Janoji Sutar (Carpenter).
2. Badja bin Bahira Chambhar (Shoe-maker).

GROUP 3.

Sukha Mali bin Sant Mali aged 75 formed a group by himself and seems to have been better informed than the preceding witnesses.

GROUP 4.

Patils of neighbouring villages:

1. Kavji bin Malji Patil (Ambegaon Budruk).

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[11] P. D., Vol. I, pp. 159-166.

2. Rakmaji bin Malji Mate Patil (Khadakbasle).
3. Hemaji Patil Pola (Dhayti).
4. Yesji bin Gopji Patil Borate (Barje).
5. Yesji bin Yelboji Patil (Narhe).
6. Amai Borati Patlin (Hingne Budruk).

GROUP 5.

1. Hasa Mahar.
2. Lingnak bin Padamnak (Mahar as the name shows).
3. Raya Mahar.
4. Taba Mahar.

GROUP 6.

1. Moro Narhar Kulkarni.
2. Har Mali bin Mant Mali.
3. Sant Mali bin Raj Mali.
4. Shivmabla bin Raumabla.
5. Daj Varta.
6. Raya bin Ramnak.
7. Tahanak bin Santnak.

The difference in their statements is explained by the fact that they were not equally well informed about the past history of the village watans.

We get our third list from a case, Shivaji son of Tanhaji and others *vs.* Satwaji about the

Loharki and Sutarki watans of Khodad in Tarf Narayangaon.[12] In this case also the parties signed a Rajinama to abide by the evidence of the Pandhar, and security as usual was taken from them. The Pandhars summoned were then taken singly and questioned about the past history of the watan after *bel bhandar* (analogous to copper and *tulsi*, तामा तुलसी of Bengal) had been given to them. Here also we find the witnesses divided into two groups according to the fulness or scantiness of their information; and a glance at this list will show how important the evidence of the balutas was in these disputes about watans, and here we find the age of the witnesses given against their names.

GROUP 1

		Age
1.	Khandoji valad Subhanji Gaikwad	45
2.	Bahirji valad Ranoji Kuchila ...	34
3.	Ramji valad Padaji Kharmala ...	60
4.	Kachu valad Khandoji Gaikwad ...	35
5.	Mahadaji valad Harji Yeranda ...	50
6.	Gondji valad Ranoji Raut ...	55
7.	Nimbaji valad Yesaji Kumbhar ...	60
8.	Malharji valad Umaji Koli ...	35
9.	Hari valad Gangaji Dabra ...	60
10.	Lokha valad Amaji Chambhar ...	50

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[12] P. D., Vol. VII, pp. 133-139. The first six of group 1 were Patils.

11.	Yesaji valad Tanhaji Mahar	60
12.	Uma valad Pangnak Mahar	35
13.	Pemnak valad Yesnak Mahar	60
14.	Jabjya valad Satba Mahar	25
15.	Luma valad Hema Mahar	60

GROUP 2

1.	Javji valad Gangaji Patil Thorat	34
2.	Sakhoji valad Satbaji Mule	34
3.	Khandoji valad Shetyaji Mule	60
4.	Gundaji valad Pilaji Patil Dhete	35
5.	Hangoji valad Malji Dhangale	70
6.	Chahu valad Mahadji Parit	35
7.	Aman valad Lakshman Mali	55
8.	Nagoji valad Muktaji Mule	35
9.	Jarya valad Nama Mang	25
10.	Nimbaji Panman	20
	and his mother Rakhmai	65

The winner in this case paid a Harki of Rs. 200.

11. Trial by Ordeal:

Although the parties signed a Rajinama to abide by the evidence of the Pandhar, and furnished security for their obedience, the defeated party might claim a fresh decision by ordeal and if one ordeal failed he could ask for a trial by an ordeal of a different sort. Sometimes he changed his mind about the selection of ordeal before the first proposed by him had been tried. How much indulgence was given to a Maratha suitor, in order that he might be satisfied that no injustice had been done to him, and how often he changed his mind can be shown by a document quoted by Mr. Bhaskar Vaman Bhat in the Tritiya Sammelan Vritta of Bharat Itihas Sanshodhak Mandal.[13] "Upon that, on the second day Somaji refusing the decision of the *gots* demanded an ordeal by water. He said that the man drawn by hand out of the water by the Pandhri should be regarded as in the right. When you were asked whether you were willing to undergo that ordeal you answered in the affirmative. The next day he changed his mind, refused the ordeal by water and suggested that the case should be decided by an oath in the mosque at Kasba Ranjangaon; on the third day he rejected the idea of an oath in the mosque and again demanded an ordeal by water. Then it was ordered that the plaintiff and the defendant should pour water over each other's hands. He who would pass this ordeal should enjoy the watan. Somaji rejected this proposal also and prayed for an ordeal by fire."

Of the ordeals enumerated in the above document the first deserves our special notice, because it was to all intents a trial by the Pandhar or by the *got*. The parties and the Pandhars were sent to a sacred river like the Krishna, or better, to a *sangam* of special sanctity like the Krishna-Vena sangam. There, at an auspicious moment the Pandhars stood on the bank after their bath in the sacred stream. The defendant and the plaintiff still remained standing in the river. Either the Patil or some other trustworthy man there present was then ordered to draw the rightful party from the water and pass a conscientious verdict. An ordinary man would not deliberately give a wrong verdict at such a place, at such a moment and in the presence of all his co-villagers. He would not only ensure for his soul eternal perdition after death, but also public execration while alive. This ordeal was therefore not unreasonable, specially in those times of strong faith in religion and of stronger superstition. In a dispute regarding the Patilki watan of Fursangi, in Tarf Haveli, of Pargana Poona, between the Kamthes and the Gaikwad Harpales, such an ordeal was resorted to. While the assembled Pandhars stood on the sandy banks of the Krishna, Yeknak, a Mahar was ordered by the gots and the balutas to draw the rightful owner of the watan from the river bed and he loudly declared his verdict.[14]

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[13] P. 42.

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[14] P. D., Vol. I, p. 168.

12. Ordeal by Fire and heated Metal:

There were so many forms of ordeal that it will not be possible to describe them all. We will here take notice of the more important ones only. One of the most common ordeals was to draw a piece of metal out of a pot full of boiling oil. This had to be performed in a temple of special sanctity and at an auspicious moment previously fixed by the government. The ordeal had to be witnessed by the co-villagers of the parties as well as by a government officer deputed for that purpose. An ordeal with a piece of metal in heated oil is thus described in the summary of a dispute regarding a Patilki watan between Devji and Shankarji Dangat: "You were then sent with Rajshri Apaji Hanmant Subhedhar and Balaji Dadaji and Baghoji Raut, officers from the Huzur and the District to Pali for the performance of an *Agnidivya*. The *got* of that place assembled in the temple and they lighted a fire and heated *ghi* and oil mixed in customary proportion. You bathed and after a declaration of your right, took two pieces of metal from the heated liquid in the presence of all. Then your hand was bandaged and sealed. The next day the aforesaid parties were brought to the Huzur by the Karkun of the District officer. On the third day, in the presence of the Majalasi the bandage was taken off and the seals broken. On your hand were found only the marks that formerly existed there. Nothing more, nothing less; you passed the ordeal successfully." [15]

Another ordeal is described in a document quoted by Mr. Bhat in the journals of the Bharat Itihas Sanshodhak Mandal.[16] There, the palm of the man is first bandaged with leaves of peepul tree and new thread. Then a heated ball is placed on his hand. He is then made to walk over seven concentric circles. After completing the seventh circle he drops the metal ball on a little heap of grain which is burnt and it is thus shown that no fraud has been practised. These ordeals were undoubtedly the relics of a bygone age. But the fallacy of such trials was not altogether undetected; in one case at least we find the Sabha Naik objecting to the demand of a *rava* (drawing out a piece of metal from heated oil) on the ground that when reliable evidence was available, an ordeal should not be permitted. Fire ordeal was in fact very seldom resorted to in ordinary cases.

Ordeals with boiling water and with burning lamps are also mentioned. In the latter case truth was supposed to be indicated by the period of burning. When an oath in a temple or mosque was taken, a period was fixed within which divine intervention was expected to take place. If the man lied, some illness or other mishap was expected to befall him or his family; but if he was left undisturbed, it was believed that his assertion had been corroborated by the god of the temple. On one occasion a man took an oath on the feet of Shahu Chhatrapati, and as fate would have it, died of cholera within a month.[17] "Then Bhikaji Harpala said that the Maharaja's feet were the Krishna to him and he would take an oath on his (Raja's) feet. Accordingly he swore that the watan in the aforesaid Mauja belonged to him and that Kamthe was a Thalvaik (Mirasi) peasant. Within a day or two of this oath Bhikaji Gaikwad got cholera, he had to be carried back to the village on the back of a bullock and there he died after a month in consequence of that false oath taken on his behalf."

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[15] P. D., Vol. I, pp. 165-166.

[16] Tritiya Sammelan Vritta, p. 44.

Boundary disputes between two villages were often settled by ordeal. One of the Patils walked on the right boundary with a cow's hide on the head; here also a fixed period was allowed to elapse for the manifestation of divine confirmation. But the Patil had afterwards to undergo a Prayashchitta for defiling his body.[18]

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[17] P. D. Vol, I, p. 168.

[18] P. D. Vol. 1, p. 131-133. For another ordeal to settle such disputes see P. D. Vol. VII, p. 65.

13. Nivad patra and Watan patra:

At the conclusion of the case a *nivad patra* or a *watan patra* was given to the winners in the Peshwa's name—for all judicial measures were taken in his name. The winner was allowed to take away the original, but a true copy was always kept in the Peshwa's Daftar. These copies were sometimes useful in testing the genuineness of the old records. In a dispute regarding a Deshmukhi watan in 1792-93 an old document of doubtful character was produced. The seals affixed on it had become indistinct and unreadable. It was then compared with old documents of similar dates and with similar seals and its authenticity was proved beyond doubt.[19]

Elphinstone says that generally great favour was shown to men of rank. In all countries, in all ages, men of wealth and influence have for all practical purposes defied law with more or less impunity.[20] It does not seem that in Maratha countries they enjoyed any unusual advantage.

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[19] P. D., Vol. VIII, p. 69.

[20] That things were not much better in this respect at Bombay during the Governorship of Elphinstone can be proved by the interesting revelation made in the Journal of Lady West. I quote here only one extract: "Aug. 24 (1823), Mr. G. has the natives flogged without any examination, trial or usual formality. A friend sends a note to him and says pray flog the bearer and it is done." For other instances of high-handedness see *Bombay in the days of George IV*, ed. Drewitt, Longman, 1907.

In the 11th volume of his Sources of Maratha History, Mr. V. K. Rajwade has published a long but incomplete account of a suit about the inheritance to the property of the Chaskar family. The Chaskars were near relations of the Peshwa (1779 A. D.) and the case was brought before the celebrated Nyayadhish Ram Shastri.

The procedure was, of course, informal, but that was not because the parties concerned were near relatives of the Peshwa. Even the procedure of village Panchayets were extremely informal. Sometimes Ram Shastri was interviewed in his own house in private. Sometimes he consulted a common friend of the disputants; but on the whole he conducted the business with firmness and with an attitude of strict justice. In fact Ram Shastri was not the person to deviate from the path of justice for the sake of any man in the world. And Ram Shastri was not the only Nyayadhish famous for uprightness in Maratha History. European observers cared more for form and procedure and hard and fast rules. The absence of these led them to pass sweeping remarks on the judicial system of the Marathas. Even an acute observer like Elphinstone could not rise above this ordinary prejudice. Not that the rich and powerful could not buy justice sometimes, but that was by no means the general rule; we find high officials punished for misdemeanours, and their watans and inams attached for liquidation of debts. Powerful Sardars, however, could not be brought under law. This was the bane of feudalism, till then prevailing in European countries too. So far as the European critics of the Maratha system are concerned, it was a difference of ideals more than anything else• that shocked them so much.

13. Fees in Civil Suits :

Let us now enquire what fees the Peshwa's government usually demanded from suitors in civil cases. In suits relating to money bonds, the usual fee was twenty-five per cent. of the money realised, sometimes a lower fee, that of twenty per cent. was charged. The creditors however had very seldom to go to the law courts of the land for realisation of the money lent. The custom of the country allowed them to practise dunning, the most extreme form of which was *dharna*, which debarred the debtor from taking any food or drink before satisfying his creditor. Dharna could be practised against men of the highest rank in the country, the Peshwa not excepted. Daulat Rao Sindhia was subjected to it by some Muhammadan soldiers, as Broughton tells us.[21] Government interference for realisation of loan could therefore be necessary only in exceptional cases, and a fee of twenty-five or twenty per cent. cannot be regarded as too high. These cases were sometimes referred to a Panchayet. "Fair bankrupts," says Elphinstone, "seem to have been let off pretty nearly as with us. Fraudulent ones were made to pay when discovered, notwithstanding previous release."[22] In partition suits however, property up to the value of Rs. 300 was exempt from any charge, property above that value was charged at the rate of ten per cent. Some estimates may also be formed of the customary laws from the summaries of the civil suits preserved in the Peshwa's Daftar. In inheritance cases we find the eldest son could not be altogether disinherited. So far as watans were concerned, the right of seniority belonged to a son of a *lagna* marriage, although younger than a son of *pat* (widow remarriage). A mother could claim maintenance from her son and also money for religious performances as well as for going on a pilgrimage. Although the property of a man without any issue belonged by law to the government, still consideration was made for his widows. Brothers were sometimes allowed to inherit the property of a childless brother on the payment of an inheritance tax, and adoption

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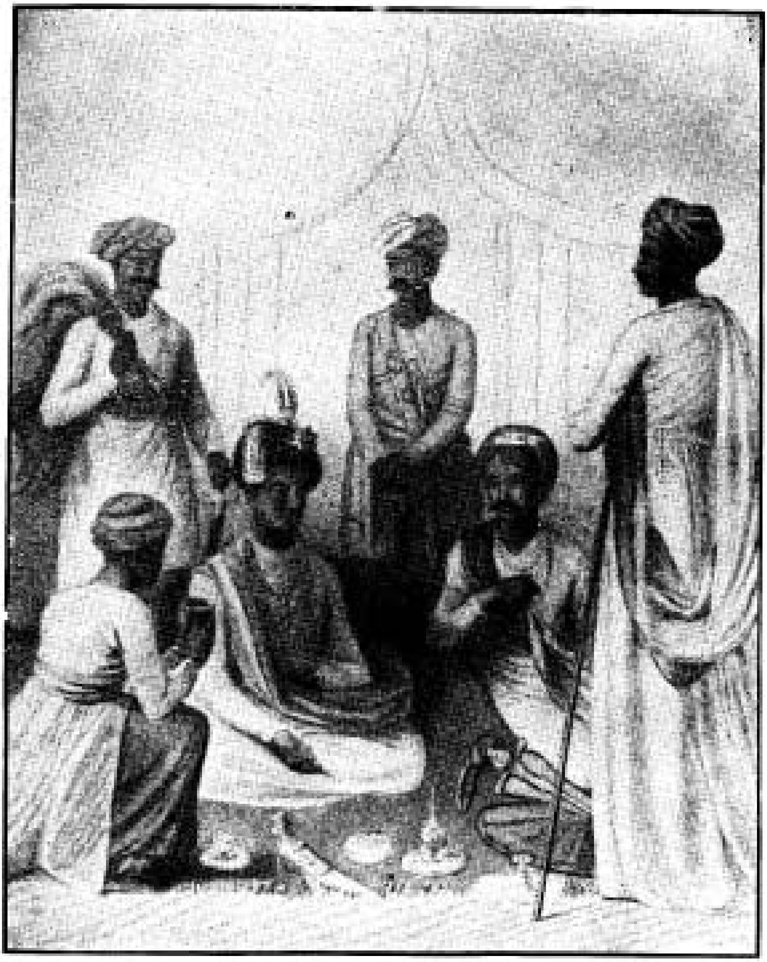
[21] Broughton, pp. 31-32.

[22] Elphinstone's Report, p. 65.



Peshwa Madhav Rao II and his Ministers

of a child always required a formal sanction of the government, which ordinarily could be secured without any difficulty. The property of a foreigner dying within the Peshwa's territory was carefully preserved, and investigation was made about the legal heirs of the dead. When they could not be found, the property of the dead man was spent in charity for the welfare of his soul in the other world. In disputes about watans, the disputed property was placed under attachment to force quick settlement.

14. Elphinstone's Strictures :

Elphinstone says, "The judicial system seems to have been very imperfect. There was no regular administration of justice : no certain means of filing a suit : and no fixed rule of proceeding after it had been filed. It rested with the officer of Government applied to, to receive a complaint or to neglect it altogether. The reception of your appeal from his injustice, equally depended on the arbitrary will of his superior. The other occupations of these officers rendered it difficult for them to attend to judicial affairs, even if well disposed, and these occupations increasing with the rank of the officer, the PAISHWA (or the minister) who was the mainspring of the whole machine, must have been nearly inaccessible to all men and entirely so to the poor."[23] Perfection of course cannot be claimed for the Maratha institutions or for any human institution in the world—there would have been no room for evolution had everything been perfect. But the observations of the great historian, to say the least, do not touch the heart of things. No doubt the Kamavisdars and Mamlatdars had other works to do. But their judicial duties mainly consisted in appointing a Panchayet and confirming its decision. Their work was more of supervision than of direct participation in the administration of justice. Moreover, there were provincial courts under the District Nyayadhish in important towns. If every one of these officers refused to receive a complaint, the plaintiff could still approach the Nyayadhish or chief justice at Poona, and the Peshwa himself. The chief court at Poona had always been put under a brilliant set of scholars and independent judges like Ram Shastri and his successors from 1760 downwards to the time of Baji Rao Raghunath, when Balkrishna Shastri Tokekar held that important office. The Peshwa was not at all inaccessible to his subjects, rich or poor. The students of old documents know well how many of these watan patras and nivad patras begin with the customary clause,—" you came to the Swami at such and such a place and complained to him, etc."

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[23] Elphinstone's Report, p. 65.

The Peshwas went out on tour every year and received complaints and punished offenders. In the month of Rabilaval of San Ihide Arbain Maya wa Alf only (1740-41) Peshwa Balaji Baji Rao visited no less than eleven places (Pali, and some neighbouring forts and villages Parli, Vadvathar, Poona, Garade, Pargaon, Bhuinj and Satara).[24] Nor was this journey of exceptional length. Similar tours were made almost every year if not every month. Even the worthless Baji Rao Raghunath used to go out on these tours and on one occasion he punished some miscreants.[25] The Maratha princes were always accessible even to the poorest of their subjects—and Broughton, by no means an admirer of things Maratha, was struck with the ease and informality with which Daulat Rao Sindhia could be approached even while on an expedition by the seekers of justice.[26]

15. Maratha and English Judicial Institutions compared :

The fact is judicial institutions were still going through a process of evolution in India as elsewhere, and evolution proceeded on different lines in different countries. In England for instance more stress was laid on procedure. English jurists had given a scientific turn to their legal studies and the Legislature of the land had by a series of Acts made a systematic effort to remove any ambiguity where it previously existed as to the purpose and intents of the existing laws. Even the unwritten customary laws had been given a definite shape through the decision of the courts. There was a well organised machinery for enforcing the laws of the land and there was a body of professional men well versed in laws to help the judges in interpreting them. The English suitor knew quite well where to file his case in the first instance and to whom to appeal and he was ordinarily sure of a fair decision provided he could afford to pay the costs of a lengthy suit, for a good lawyer always charged a high fee and a chancery suit caused proverbial delay.

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[24] P. D., Vol. II, p. 238.

[25] See letters of Parashram Bhat and Malhar Ramchandra Kulkarni to Rajashri Nanaji. Rajwade, Sources of Maratha History, Vol. X, p. 398.

[26] Broughton, Letters from a Maratha Camp.

The Maratha system on the other hand excelled in simplicity. There was no codified law, no fixed procedure, and even a lengthy suit hardly cost the parties anything but the unavoidable worries and anxieties. But these advantages were marred by the disadvantage caused by the lack of settled procedure. The suit could be prolonged indefinitely by the obstructive tactics of an unscrupulous party. He could claim a trial by ordeal after the Panchayet had already delivered a judgment. And if he found one ordeal inconvenient he might demand a second trial by an ordeal of a different description. If the Mamladar was a dishonest man, and he was seldom proof to present, the losing party might still get the decision arrived after so much delay and so many ordeals cancelled, and one who had an influential and highly placed friend at the court had always some advantage over his less fortunate adversary. To add to these difficulties there was no professional lawyer and the provisions of the law, written and unwritten, were not always clear and definite. The old Hindu law-givers did not always agree and differences were sometimes accentuated by their commentators. Customs varied in different districts and offered no valuable aid to the bewildered judge. The result was that the honest poor might often find it difficult to defend his rights against the dishonest rich. But the English laws and English lawyers and English courts would hardly help him better. For in the first instance the poor man could not expect to engage as able a lawyer to defend him as his wealthy adversary and the heavy expenses of a lengthy suit would ultimately prove his ruin, even if he was so fortunate as to get a favourable verdict. It is unnecessary to labour this point any further. It is clear that both the systems had their merits and demerits. Elphinstone passed very severe strictures upon the weak points of the Maratha judicial system, because in his own country he had not been familiar with them. But he was by no means blind to the merits of the Panchayet as he had recommended its continuation even after the British conquest of the Peshwa's territories.

16. Dr. Hope's Views:

It should be noted in this connection that British courts of law were at first unpopular in India. Their settled code of procedure, which ought to have commended itself to the Indian suitors was at the beginning regarded as an unnecessary innovation. The punishment inflicted by these courts, the rapidity with which their judgments in some cases were enforced, also bewildered the illiterate Maratha peasant, and it is no wonder that they sighed for the Panchayet with which they were familiar.

In fact the simplicity of the old judicial system readily caught the imagination of European writers and Dr. Hope, who had first-hand knowledge of India, definitely expressed himself in favour of the original Maratha judicial system. He says, "We have found much to admire and very little to detest in the administration of public officers at Gwalior. Such is our conviction knowing well that if the people of India—the 180 millions—could go to the poll on a choice of governments an almost countless majority would prefer a native one to one which was ever supervising and controlling every act of their public life and haunting them with a vision of an English court of Law."[57]

17. Serious Crimes Very Rare:

In the administration of criminal laws also the authorities were the same as in civil cases;—the Patil in the village, the Kamavisdar or Mamlatdar in the District, the Sarsubhedar in the province and the Peshwa and the Chief Justice at Poona above all.

If we judge by the effect, the administration of criminal justice in Maharashtra was as efficient as that of civil justice under the Peshwas. Although he does not miss any opportunity of denouncing the system as a whole, Elphinstone himself admits, "The country was peculiarly free from crimes. Gang robberies have never, since I have been in the country, reached to such a pitch, as to bear a moment's comparison with Bengal, described in the paper laid before the Parliament."

18. Panchayet in Criminal Cases:

It does not seem that a Panchayet was so frequently resorted to as in civil cases; but that it was sometimes called to make enquiry into the facts of a criminal case as well as to pass judgment thereon, admits of no doubt. In the year 1760-61, Yeshvant Rao Kshirsagar of Kameri in Tarf Valve, of Prant Karhad, and two others were killed in consequence of a dispute about land revenue, and Kshirsagar's son complained against the murderers. We find that the Patil, Kulkarni and Rayats of the village were summoned to the Huzur for an enquiry into the case, and afterwards the compensation to be paid to the murdered man's son was settled by a Panchayet.[28]

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[57] The House of Scindea, p. 5.

"Upon that Shidoji bin Firangoji Kadam surnamed Ludge, half Patil of the village, Anaji Tukdev and Janardan Baburao Kulkarni and other Rayats were summoned to the Huzur. After proper enquiry and by the evidence of the Patil, Kulkarni, and the Rayats of the village, the charge of the three murders was proved against the aforesaid Sultanji and Baji. This dispute had to be disposed of, and according to the suggestion of the Panchayet it was ordered that out of the Inam lands of Sultanji and Baji Patil and the Miras land of the Kunbi two houses and sixty-five bighas of lands with boundary duly described should be granted to the complainant as a hereditary Inam." This document not only shows that a Panchayet was appointed for trying homicides, but also that the relatives of

[28] P. D., Vol. II, pp. 54-56.

the murdered person had to be compensated by the murderer.

19. Fine according to the Resources of the Offender :

Capital punishment in the days of Shahu Chhatrapati and Balaji Baji Rao seems to have been unknown. Murder and treason were punished with fine, confiscation of property, and imprisonment. The Maratha rulers seem to have realised that punishment was to be used as a corrective only and not to drive the offender to the extreme of despair and convert him into a sworn enemy of human society. That explains the queer but common prayer on the part of convicted offenders that the fine inflicted should not exceed their means; and why Government agreed not only to take the offenders' income into consideration while fixing the amount of fine, but also allowed them to pay the sum so fixed, by instalments.

"Morshet Bani, a resident of Peth Somvar was accused of murdering his wife. He was brought to the Huzur and examined. He was found guilty and he confessed that he had committed the crime. He also represented that a fine should be levied upon him, taking into consideration what his debtors owed to him and he should be absolved of his sin."[**]

[**] P. D., Vol. II, p. 50.

Although the guilty had to pay a fine according to his means, the innocent, if accused, could not escape without any payment. Perhaps that people should suspect him was thought a sufficient offence. In 1752-53 Rupaji bin Rambhaji Mudtadak was accused of pelting Setya, the younger son of Jakhoji bin Setyaji Bhadag Vanjare, to death, and although his innocence was proved, he had to pay a Harki of Rs. 1,500.[30] Elphinstone rightly remarks, "the innocent might sometimes suffer, but the guilty could scarcely ever escape."

When the government levied Harki upon the innocent, a false accuser could not expect mercy when detected. Fine was the usual punishment for such an offence. Three cases of false complaints are found in the Selections from Balaji Baji Rao's Diaries. In the first, Vithoji Jingar was fined Rs. 75 for bringing a false charge of theft against Govindaji Jagannath Deshmukh.[31] In the second we find how Rama, a barber of Kasba Saswad, had brought a false charge of witchcraft against Subhanji Jingar and was fined Rs. 40. The Gunhagari as usual was "*Jivan Mafik*."[32] In the third instance Soyraji of Fort Narayangad was fined Rs. 50 for accusing Maini, daughter of Rakhamaji Repal of adultery with Shivaji a washerman.[33] It is noteworthy that Maini proved her innocence by an ordeal by metal (that of drawing out a piece of metal from a potful of boiling oil). So in these three cases of false complaints, the fine varied from Rs. 40 to 75. Evidently the offenders were men of small means, for during the administration of the same Peshwa and only ten years later, we find that Hanmant Bhat, brother of the Pratinidhi, was fined Rs.1,000 for giving false evidence.[34] This explains the policy of levying fine in proportion to the means of the offender. What would be a preventive in case of Rama, a barber, could not be a preventive in case of the Pratinidhi's brother. Therefore the latter had to pay a fine twenty-five times more than what was levied upon the former, although the offence committed by the barber might have been more serious.

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[30] P. D., Vol. II, pp. 47-48.

[31] P. D., Vol. II, p. 61.

[32] *Ibid*, pp. 61-62

20. *Witchcraft :*

The offence of the barber mentioned above brings to our notice a crime that would certainly appear novel to us, witchcraft. Yet the European states had taken serious steps for its suppression. Witchcraft was made criminal in England by a statute of Elizabeth which had not been repealed till 1736. In the meantime no less than 30,000 men and women had lost their lives on the charge of selling their souls to the Devil. The most inhuman of these murders were those of Mrs. Hickes and her daughter a girl of nine in 1716. In Austria the law against witchcraft was suffered to disfigure the statute book as late as 1766. The Peshwas, however, thought fine and imprisonment sufficient penalty for intercourse with evil spirits. Only one case is recorded of capital punishment. But special measures were taken against prisoners convicted of witchcraft and sorcery. In 1775-76, Martand Joshi Rairikar was imprisoned in Killa Ghangad for practising sorcery, the warders in charge were instructed not to allow him to apply sacred ashes or sandal mark on his forehead or to perform the daily religious rites and to recite sacred hymns.[33] He was not to be allowed to take more than one meal per day, and he was required to prepare his own food. Sometimes the Peshwas went further, and took direct measures to deprive the supposed offender of his infernal power. In 1775-76 Moraji, a resident of Poona, was accused of killing a man through the instrumentality of evil spirits. His offence was proved beyond any doubt by the evidence of fifty of his caste people ! They further prayed that in order to render his witchcraft ineffectual, two of his upper teeth should be extracted, and he should be made to drink water from a Chambhar's reservoir, and lastly he should be excommunicated. This pious prayer was, for public safety, granted; and further, as the persecuted wizard had threatened to practise witchery against his caste people through Berads and Mangs, if he was excommunicated, the Peshwa ordered him to be imprisoned in the fort of Kohaj and there kept under strict guard.[86]

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[33] *Ibid*, p. 63.

[34] *Ibid*, p. 61.

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[33] P. D., Vol. VIII, pp. 114-115.

When a man was charged with causing harm to others by sorcery and witchcraft, he was generally fined and ordered to recall the evil spirits under his commands. Public opinion and common suspicion were regarded as sufficient proofs[87] of his offence. Only in one case was a man banished on the charge of witchcraft. So anxious was the Peshwa to save the person and property of his subjects from the infernal influence of the evil spirits in the service of the sorcerers and wizards that two officers were appointed to make a thorough enquiry about the sorcerers in the Talukas Anjanvel, Suvarndurg, Ratnagiri, Vijayadurg, Devgad and Saudal in the year 1774-75. The first officer was asked to visit the villages of Talukas Anjanvel and Suvarndurg, and he got two Karkuns and six peons to assist him, and he was also authorised to employ five more peons if necessary. The second officer was appointed on an annual salary of Rs. 350 and an additional allowance of Rs. 261 for Karkuns and peons and stationery. He was to levy fine on the wizards when detected, but here also the principle laid down was that the amount of fine should not be exorbitant. The document clearly states that " in the instructions about enquiry framed by the Sarsubha the amount of fine prescribed was from Rs. 25 to Rs. 50. But the Rayats of the Konkan were poor and the Sarsubha wrote a letter in the year San Salas that taxes and fine should not be insisted on. Therefore you should fix Gunhagari (fine) according to their means."[38] Even highly placed people often suffered for suspected intercourse with the evil spirits. A Kashmiri general in the Sindhia's employ was disgraced on this account in the early years of the 19th century.

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[86] P. D., Vol. VIII, p. 115.

[87] The published documents do not tell us how wizards were detected in the Peshwa's dominions. A curious mode of trying witches in Behar has been described, in the Annual Asiatic Register (1801), Tracts, pp. 91-92. Jenkins says that the method of detecting witches by the Nagpur Government was as follows: "The usual test by which witches are discovered, is that of plunging them, tied up in a bag, into the water; if they sink, they are innocent, if they swim, guilty: and they are punished sometimes with death, at others their teeth are drawn; they are made to drink the water in which the skins of dead animals have been immersed, are beat with twigs of a particular bush, supposed to have peculiar properties and are turned out of their caste, and sometimes out of the village." Jenkins' Report, p. 60.

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[38] P. D., Vol. VIII, pp. 112-114.

21. Adultery:

Here we shall take notice of another offence, adultery; the punishment being so far as the female offenders were concerned, slavery and penal servitude. They were, however, let off if any of their relations offered to stand surety for their future good conduct. In 1741-42 one such female slave was released on the application of her husband who offered to replace her by another slave.[39] In 1754-55 a Koli woman arrested on a charge of adultery was saved from the ignominy of a slave's life on the application of her caste people, but she had to pay a fine of Rs. 50.[40]

In 1785-86 Janaki Lagdin, an adulteress, then undergoing penal servitude at fort Visapur, was released on her father standing surety for her good conduct.[41] In one case we find that mutilation was substituted for slavery. In 1781-82 Ahili, wife of Janoji Davra of Dholwad in Prant Junnar committed adultery with Devji Khandoji Chinchvada. Devji was fined and Ahili got her liberty at the loss of her nose.[42]

Girls thus condemned to slavery had to work hard in fortresses. Generally they had to do building work. But sometimes they were sold off like ordinary articles of sale. A Brahman Gangadhar Bhat Karve bought a female convict for Rs. 30 only in 1755-56.[43] The male offenders on the other hand were generally let off with a fine, and sometimes after a term of imprisonment.

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[39] P. D., Vol. I, p. 214.

[40] P. D., Vol. II, p. 67.

[41] P. D., Vol. VIII, p. 108.

[42] P. D., Vol. VIII, p. 108.

22. *Slaves well treated:*

The institution of slavery in Maharashtra had not the horrors of slavery of Europe and America. The slaves were treated well. They were sometimes freed on the occasion of great festivals, or simply because they were old. Moreover the slaves in the Maratha country were allowed to possess property, and sometimes actually secured their release by purchasing a suitable substitute for their owners. In the year 1773-74 two female slaves were bought by Fuli and Tulshi, female slaves belonging to the government.[44] Slaves on the government establishment were specially well treated. We find that in 1762-63, Rs. 1,303-4 was granted for clothes to be given to female slaves of government on the Dasra festival.[45] In the same year Badi a slave was released and allowed to go wherever she pleased.[46] In 1774-75 the daughter of a Muhammadan female slave attached to the cavalry under Sakhoji Mule was decently married to a Muhammadan boy.[47] It may be noted here that legal marriage of a slave girl meant her manumission.

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[43] P. D., Vol. II, p. 68.

[44] P. D., Vol. VIII, p. 249.

[45] P. D., Vol. VII, pp. 318-23.

[46] *Ibid*, p. 318.

"A letter to Eshi, a woman, when you were at Purandhar, Rajashri Ranoji Bhonsle represented that you were his female slave's daughter. Thereupon you had been summoned to the Huzur, but it was found that the gentleman had formerly given you in marriage. Therefore he cannot force you to slavery. Nobody has any right to interfere with your liberty."[48]

The condition of the slaves in other parts of the Maratha empire was equally good. Broughton tells us in his *Letters from a Mahratta Camp* how well treated the slaves were in Sindhia's country. His knowledge was first-hand. Two female slaves belonging to Mamma (a relative of Daulat Rao Sindhia) came to his camp one day. "They told me," says Broughton, "that they were brought up in a family of Mamma, where they led a very easy life; their only employments, during the day, being to attend upon his wives, of whom he had three in camp, and rub the old gentleman's legs when he lay down to repose: and at night they were at liberty to dispose of themselves as they pleased. The Muha Raj's favourite wife has a number of these girls about her, from every part of India, who receive their daily food and two suits of clothes annually, and are allowed to earn as much more as they can and in any way they think proper. * * * The *Butkees* (female slaves) remain attached to the family during their lives."[49]

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[47] P. D., Vol. VII, p. 250.

[48] P. D., Vol. I, p. 213.

Jenkins writes of the treatment accorded to slaves at Nagpur: "These are brought up in the families of their purchasers, generally as domestic servants, and are frequently placed almost on an equality with their master's children in regard to food and clothing; and it is not uncommon for persons who have no children of their own, to adopt their slaves as their sons, and leave their property to them at their death. Task-labor, or any work beyond what would be expected of a hired servant, is never exacted from slaves; and in general, they are treated with kindness and consideration, and become more the attached servants, and it may be said friends of the families in which they have been nurtured, than the degraded slaves, from whom no labor can be obtained except what is extorted by fear of punishment."[50]

[49] Broughton, p. 75. Compare with this the harsh treatment by the Portuguese of their slaves—"She imprisoned in her house one other slaves for having stolen something. By reason of severe punishment and deprivation of food he died, and was buried in the dunghill...... This murder of slaves and slave girls is common among the Portuguese, and few are the houses in which the skeletons of their bodies would not to be found." Manucci, ed. Irvine, Vol. III, p. 113.

[50] Report on the Territories of the Rajah of Nagpore (Calcutta, 1827), p. 63.

Bigamy and Forcible Marriage:

Conjugal infidelity reminds us of two other offences connected with marriage, bigamy and forcible marriage. Polygamy in India was of course, no crime for a man, but bigamy on the part of a girl, specially when she was a Hindu, was unthinkable. Yet a few instances of this rare offence are recorded. The guardians of the girls were really to be blamed, the innocent victims were still in their minority. The usual punishment for forcible marriage was confiscation of property or excommunication or both. Sometimes the offender was fined. In one case an irregular marriage of a girl of three years, with a Brahman bridegroom forty-five years old, performed by force while the parents of the victim lay unconscious, was declared null and void and a second and more formal marriage with a suitable bridegroom was ordered. The offenders in this case were fined.[51]

Of bigamy we have two cases only. In 1752-53, Nimbaji vallad Yesu Jhagda of Sinnar married the wife of Dhondji Mali of the same village according to the pat system. The aforesaid Dhondji had been away from home, and Bapuji Mali, his father-in-law, got his daughter married for a second time. But Nimbaji did not enquire whether Dhondji was living or dead before he married the girl. He was therefore fined Rs. 80[52] In the second case the punishment inflicted was imprisonment. In 1770-71, Bhiu Bai Vyas, a Brahman lady got her daughter married twice and the whole family consisting of mother, daughter and a són was imprisoned at Shivner.[53] The boy in this case was clearly free from any guilt and here comes one of the drawbacks of the Maratha system. In order to overawe would-be offenders, the Peshwa's government committed to prison innocent children and helpless wives of convicted prisoners and absconding offenders. Repeated instances of such measures are found in the papers of the Peshwa's Daftar. We will here choose three only from those of the first Madhava Rao's administration. In 1765-66 we come across a paper which pithily states that Khandya Berad of Chakan having committed theft, his mother, wife and three children (two belonging to him and one to Somya Berad) were sent to fort Kohaj.[54] "In 1766-67, certain Bhats having been caught thieving, 11 women and 12 children of their families were condemned to rigorous imprisonment. Their daily ration was fixed at

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[51] P. D., Vol. VIII, pp. 107-108.

[52] P. D., Vol. II, p. 69.

[53] P. D, Vol. VI, p. 211.

[54] P. D., Vol. VI, pp. 203-204.

one seer for each adult and half a seer for each child.''[55]

In the same year Baji Sonar was imprisoned at Killa Visapur for committing theft, and his wife was sent to prison at fort Sinhagad.[56]

24. Mutilation—a punishment :

We have seen that capital punishment was not inflicted even for murder during the administration of Shahu Chhatrapati and Balaji Baji Rao. But the two Madhava Raos not only condemned offenders convicted of treason, murder, causing grievous hurt, dacoity and theft, to death, but sometimes caused them to be mutilated. Robbers and thieves were mercilessly deprived of their hands and feet. Here, of course, we find the revival of the old principle of removing the offending limb recommended to the Hindu kings by the compiler of Manu's code, in bygone days of antiquity. Among the papers of the second Madhava Rao have been preserved long lists of convicts condemned to lose their hands and feet one of these lists enumerates the following sentences for theft:

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[55] P. D., Vol. VI, p. 204.

[56] P. D., Vol. VII, p. 204. It should be noted that uncommon severity was practised in those days for effectively suppressing robbery. Warren Hastings found it necessary "to order that every convicted Dacoit should be executed in his own village in all the forms and terrors of the law and that his whole family should be made slaves and that every inhabitant of the village should be fined." Hunter, *The Annals of Rural Bengal*, p. 73.

Capital punishment	20 men.
Right hand and left leg to be cut off	13 ,,
Right hand only to be cut off	18 ,,
Right hand and one ear to be cut off	4 ,,
Right hand and right leg to be cut off	1 man.
One ear to be cut off	1 ,,

and one man was to be first paraded ludicrously dressed and then nailed to death.[57]

These punishments were undoubtedly cruel, but it should not be forgotten that humanitarian principles had very little influence on the criminal laws in India as well as in England in the first decade of the 19th century. These inhuman penalties therefore were perhaps less shocking to the people of the time than to us. Even in the native country of Peel and Mackintosh the criminal law was hardly humane. For, while the thief in the Maratha country escaped with the loss of a hand or a foot, his English cousin forfeited his life for the same offence. Capital punishment was prescribed by English law for offences which the Maratha judge would punish with imprisonment only. To the natural severity of English criminal laws was added the influence of the rich. Sir Spencer Walpole says,—"The least influential member of Parliament had sufficient power to have any offence made a capital felony, without benefit of clergy. In 1815 it was capital offence to steal goods to the value of 5*s*. in a shop. It was capital offence to steal 40*s*. from a dwelling house. It was capital offence to break frames. It was made a capital offence in 1816 to destroy machines. It was a capital offence to steal a horse or sheep. Up to 1808 it had been a capital offence to pick a man's pocket. Up to 1812 it had been a capital offence for soldiers and mariners to beg. It was seriously proposed in 1813 to punish the fraudulent debtors with death." "There are no less than two hundred felonies," said Mackintosh in 1819, punishable with death." The result was that although "more people were hanged in England than in all Europe besides," crime went on increasing. When this was the state of things in England, it is no wonder that in India mutilation should be inflicted on convicted criminals by Indian and English rulers alike. According to Busteed, mutilation was executed on criminals in Bengal under the orders of the British Government.[33] Elphinstone found the Maratha country peculiarly free from crimes. The reason was

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[57] P. D., Vol. VIII, pp. 96-99.

[33] Echoes from old Calcutta, pp. 116-120.

that the rulers were not naturally cruel. They would make every consideration for a deserving offender. Even treason was sometimes pardoned or slightly punished. Some of Sumer Singh's (murderer of Narayan Rao Peshwa) accomplices were let off with a small fine. This want of vindictiveness on the part of the Peshwa's government, and absence of hard and fast criminal laws, enabled the judicial officers to be lenient, and so when an exemplary sentence was passed to overawe would-be offenders, it never failed to strike terror.

കേരള സാഹിത്യ അക്കാദമി

CHAPTER VIII

SOCIAL AFFAIRS; PRISON AND POLICE

We have at another place remarked that the Peshwas and the Chhatrapatis before them were not only the secular but also the ecclesiastical head of the state. They united to a certain extent the rights and prerogatives of the Pope and the Emperor. This peculiar position left its mark on the criminal laws of the time. Murder was to them not only a crime but a sin also. And as the crime had its legal punishment, the sin had its religious penance as prescribed by the Shastras. So a murderer even when pardoned had to perform the necessary Shastric penance. During the reign of Shahu Chhatrapati one Shidoji Raut murdered his concubine and cousin. At the intercession of his brother Shetyaji, Shidoji obtained a free pardon, but he was ordered to perform the Prayashchitta for cousin-murder.[1] An Abhayapatra granted to Shetyaji Raut: "Your brother Shidoji had a concubine and his cousin Bakaji induced her to commit adultery. They did not pay any attention to warning given once or twice. Thereupon Shidoji caught his concubine and cousin at the same place in his house and killed them. A written information was sent to the Huzur with a prayer for pardon. A free pardon is given, but he should get himself absolved of the sin of cousin-murder by performing Prayashchitta."

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[1] P. D., Vol. I, p. 183.

1. *Social Affairs:*

This combination of the secular with the religious authority naturally led the Peshwa to regulate social affairs, and he could not logically avoid this duty even if he would. We have seen how Sambhaji Maharaj had sanctioned the decisions of the Chhandogyamatya as the ecclesiastical head of the state. Similar orders were often issued in the name of Shahu Chhatrapati. Feudal chiefs like the Angrias had undertaken similar duties within their fiefs. On the *shuklatritiya* of Ashwin, Shaka 1656 (the third day of the lighter half of Ashwin or October 6, 1734) Sambhaji Angre Sarkhel with due salutations referred the case of a Brahman woman Savitri to the Dharmadhikaris and other Brahmans well-versed in the Vedas and the Shastras of Kasba Karhad.[2] It is to be noted here that on these social questions the decision of the *got* or caste people was often confirmed and the Panchayet was appointed for enquiry about old customs as well as decision thereupon. An unreasonable judgment of the got was seldom if ever upheld.

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[2] B.I.S.M., Tritiya Sammelan, p. 93.

The Peshwas did not exercise this authority of regulating the social affairs because they were Brahmans. It formed part of their duties as the chief magistrates of the state. In one of the documents we find that cases of social customs and rights were sometimes decided by Muhammadan rulers like Aurangzib.[5] As the Joshis assert, "On a previous occasion, the servants of the fort and from two to four thousand Mahars of the province applied to Aurangzib Padsha that the Jyotishis should be ordered to officiate in their marriages. After an enquiry about the old customs, he decided that the Jyotishis were not to officiate in Mahars' marriages and up to this time we have worked according to that decision."

2. *Jurisdiction over Non-Hindus:*

As the non-Hindu ruler of the country was required to enquire about the social customs of the Hindus and decide disputed social and religious questions, so the Peshwas were also called upon to decide about the religious rights and customs of their non-Hindu subjects. Thus in the year 1754-55, a dispute (Bhikaji and Rustumji Andharu *vs.* others) about the priesthood of the Parsis was decided by an officer of the Peshwa.[4]

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[5] P. D., Vol. VIII, pp. 279-281.

In the year 1769-70 a Portuguese clergyman asked for a government patent for his claim to officiate as Priest in the church of Ramedi in Salsette.[5] "Padre Farelpadra Majardesh, a resident of Revdanda came to the Huzur at the Mukkam of Kasba Poona and informed that the Padreship of the church of Ramedi in Salsette belonged to him. Accordingly Ramaji Mahadev had granted the Padreship to him and the Sarsubhedar also had given him a letter (of confirmation). A patent from the Huzur should be given him. The Padreship was therefore granted to him and he was ordered to enjoy its customary dues. A letter to Ramaji Mahadev :—As the abovementioned clergyman is in government service and cannot attend his duties at the church, he should be allowed to send an agent to perform the duties of the church."

3. *Spirit of Toleration :*

It appears that this extensive jurisdiction effectively exercised by the Peshwas over the social and religious affairs of their non-Hindu subjects did not cause any discontent, for these

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[4] P. D., Vol. II, pp. 24-25.

[5] P. D., Vol. VII, p. 342.

Brahman rulers were uncommonly tolerant and generous to people who professed a faith other than their own. The grants and farmans issued by the Muhammadan rulers were not only continued but from time to time new Inams were given for the maintenance of mosques and shrines. They liberally contributed to the construction of mosques and churches, and timber from the preserved forests was frequently supplied for such purposes. Cannons were fired thrice at the request of a Portuguese clergyman to celebrate a Roman Catholic festival at Revdanda. Baji Rao II permitted the Portuguese clergymen at Bassein to excercise all their old rights with the single exception of cow slaughter, an act so repugnant to Hindu sentiments.[8] And the other Maratha rulers did not lag behind in this respect. Daulat Rao Sindhia and his officers always joined the Muharam procession dressed in green as Muhammadans should do, and even to-day Muharam remains the most popular festival at Sindhia's capital.

4. *Superstition :*

Their solicitude for the suppression of witchcraft shows that the Peshwas were by no means free from superstition. Further instances of their superstitious beliefs are met with in their religious and social regulations. In 1721-22, one Rupee was given as a present to an Agnihotri to counteract the evil effects of the fall of a lizard in the hall of audience.[6a] When on the Dasraday 1740, the flagstaff of the fort at Mahuli was struck by lightning, one hundred Brahmans were feasted and *Shantijap* was repeated a hundred-thousand times.[7] In the year 1751-52, there was an earthquake in the province of Kalyan Bhivandi and good Brahmans were ordered to assemble for a *Shanti* ceremony (to appease the supposed wrath of the gods).[8] In 1753-54 performance of a similar ceremony was ordered at fort Visapur,[9] because of unusual prevalence of sickness in the fort. We come across a set of similar orders during the administration of the second Madhava Rao. In 1773-74 the idol in the famous Pandharpur temple was touched by a lizard, and *Shanti* and *Maharudra* ceremonies were performed; over and above this one thousand Brahmans were fed.[10] In 1775-76 the Brahmans of Kasba Trimbak represented that they were seriously troubled since the discontinuation of the customary sacrifice of a buffalo to the local goddess on the Dasra-day, and the practice was ordered to be reintroduced.[11]

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[8] Biker, Vol. X, p. 276; Sen, *Historical Records at Goa.*

[6a] P. D., Vol. II, p. 195.

[7] P. D., Vol. II, p. 196.

[8] P. D., Vol. II, p. 204.

[9] P. D., Vol. II, p. 205.

[10] P. D., Vol. VIII, p. 255.

[11] P. D., Vol. VIII, p. 257.

5. *Influence of Orthodox Views :*

Sometimes the Peshwas were influenced by orthodox ideas. In 1744-45, the Peshwa was informed by a person from Bassein that during the Portuguese regime some Brahmans of the Yajurvedi class introduced the new unorthodox practice of giving their daughters in marriage to nephews (by sisters). But now as a righteous government was established and as the new practice was quite contrary to the *Dharmashastras,* a fine of Rs. 50 together with the punishment of excommunication should be inflicted on those who adhered to this practice. The suggestion was accepted and instructions were accordingly issued to the officers in charge of Bassein.[12]

The first Madhava Rao excommunicated Sakho Moreshwar Belsare Joshi Kulkarni of Jejuri and confiscated his Kulkarni and Joshi watan because he did not observe mourning for a death in another branch of his family. Copies of the order were sent to government officers and the Brahman community of Jejuri.[13] In 1789-90 during the administration of Madhava Rao II the Prabhus were ordered to desist from pronouncing Vedic *mantras* and other practices peculiar to Brahmans.

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[12] P. D., Vol. II, p. 198. This custom prevails among the Ganda Saraswat Brahmans commonly known as Shenvis.

[13] P. D., Vol. VII, pp. 360-361.

They were strictly ordered not to obstruct the remarriage of a willing widow in their community.[14] But it appears from an order of Baji Rao Raghunath dated 1796-97 that the Prabhus had the right of wearing sacred thread like the Brahmans.[15] Baji Rao II tried to enforce the old Shastric regulations about marriage specially in the Brahman community. He ordered that no Brahman should sell his daughter or keep her unmarried after she was nine years old.[16]

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[14] The order runs as follows: The Brahmans of Kasba Pen in Pargana Sakse came to the Huzur and complained that the Parbhus did not behave according to the regulations formerly made during the administration of the late Peshwa Narayan Rao about their religious conduct and secretly celebrate the Brahman rites. An enquiry should therefore be made and order passed. It has been found that during the regime of the late Peshwa Narayan Rao the following regulations were made and the Prabhus had signed an agreement to behave in accordance to these:

(1) That they would perform no religious rite accompanied by a recital of Vedic Mantras.

(2) That they would not pronounce Vedic Mantras, if any occurs (in course of their religious rites).

(3) That they would not use cooked rice in offering oblations to the dead.

(4) That in performing daily oblations, etc., they would pronounce Pauranic Mantras only and they would not feed Brahmans at their house.

(5) That they would not worship the Shaligram deity.

(6) That they would visit only the temples frequented by Shudras.

(7) That they would salute Brahmans by calling out the word *Dandavat* and use the same word in saluting men of their own caste.

(8) That they would not oppose the remarriage of any willing widow of their caste. The Peshwa orders strict observance of these regulations, made in his father's regime, and threatens any failure to do so with severe punishment. The Government officers in different Mahals are entrusted with the execution of the above order (for original document see Peshwa's Diaries, Sawai Madhava Rao, Vol. III, pp. 287-292). This document does not prove the illegality or otherwise of the Prabhu claims, and is cited simply as an instance of state interference in social affairs. I have not the least intention of participating in a controversy which has already become acrimonious, and nothing will hurt me more if the quotation of this document here is given an interpretation likely to offend my many esteemed Prabhu friends.

To Mamledar and other officers in Talukas and Mahals. "The Huzur has been informed that Brahmans sell their daughters to their castemen and keep them unmarried after the age of nine years. Thereupon this letter is addressed to you. You should strictly warn all Brahmans in every village under your jurisdiction against sale of girls and keeping them unmarried after nine years. Failure to observe this will not be excused. Make careful enquiry from the day of the receipt of this letter and excommunicate every one who may have sold daughters after the receipt of this letter. About their re-admission into the caste necessary orders will be passed by the Huzur."

6. *Widow Remarriage:*

Liable to be guided by superstition and orthodox views as the Peshwas were, a modern student will be struck more by the liberal spirit that pervades their social regulations

[15] P. D., Vol. V, pp. 251-252.

[16] P. D., Vol. V, pp. 253-2[illegible].

than their occasional tinge of narrowness. We in Bengal are more concerned with the question of widow remarriage and readmission to society of students returning from foreign lands. We have often come across the tax known as Patdam (tax upon widow remarriage) in documents previously quoted and among the regulations about religious conduct of the Prabhus we have seen them stipulating that they would not oppose the remarriage of any willing widow of their caste. Widow remarriage was a common practice among the non-Brahmans of Maharashtra. There were two forms of remarriage—Pat and Muhurta; the Pat seems to have been more informal. Justice Telang says that the celebrated general Parashram Bhau Patwardhan had contemplated the remarriage of his young widowed daughter although the custom did not prevail among the Brahmans and it is said he got the sanction of no less an authority than the celebrated Nyayadhish Ram Shastri.[17] Why Parashram gave up this bold idea is not known, and Brahman widows in Maharashtra like their unfortunate sisters in Northern India have been condemned to life-long misery and austerity.

Among the non-Brahmans, however, not only widow remarriage but marriage of a woman to a second husband in case of prolonged and continued absence of the first, depriving her of any means of livelihood, was also permitted. An instance of such a marriage is found among the papers in the Daftar of Shahu Chhatrapati. The facts of the case are as follows: One Godji Gaikwad, Patil of Mauja Bahuli, Tarf Muthekhore, represented to the Huzur that Jani, daughter of Manaji Ghorepada Patil of Sayagaon was given in marriage to Jotyaji Savant of Kasba Dahigaon. Jotyaji however left her and went away. She waited for her husband for ten or twelve years but he did not return. In the meantime her parents died and there was nobody in her husband's family to maintain her. Then she went to the King and represented that as she had none to support her, she should be advised what she should do. The King, thereupon, ordered her to marry a second husband according to the Pat rites. Then she came back to Muthekhore and informed the Deshmukh, Deshpande, and the *got* of the purport of the Raja's order, and they married her to Godji Gaikwad according to the Pat rites. But the latter was arrested by Pant Sachiv and asked by whose authority he had performed the Pat ceremony. Godji answered that he had the authority of the Raja and as he was afraid that in future he might be similarly troubled by others, he requested the King to give him a written authority. An Abhaya Patra was accordingly granted to hin.[18]

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[17] Vasudev Shastri Khare has proved conclusively that there is no evidence for this assertion ; see his Adhikar Yoga.

7. *Victims of Violence :*

The Hindus of Maharashtra in those days were more considerate towards the gentler sex than they are now, and the government always extended its support to the women in difficulties whenever necessary. The following case will perhaps make the orthodox leaders of the Hindu society gape in wonder. The original document was discovered in the house of the Dharmadhikari of Karhad by Mr. V. K. Rajwade, and has been published by Mr. Datto Vaman Potdar in the reports of the Bharat Itihas Sanshodhak Mandal: "Sambhaji Angre Sarkhel informed with due salutations, all the good Brahmans well-versed in the Vedas and the Shastras and the Dharmadhikaris of Kasba Karhad that Savitri, wife of Purushottam Palsura, a resident of Dhopeshwar in Tarf Rajapur, was going to her mother's house in the village of Rayepatan. On the way she was violated by a Muhammadan, Malik Abdala. The woman returned to her house and related the incident to her people, and a written report of the case was thereupon sent to the headquarters at Vijayadurg. The

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[18] P. D., Vol. I, p. 218.

Muhammadan was brought to the Huzur and decapitated. The woman however prayed that as she was violated by force and against her will and as the Saheb was the upholder of religion, some Prayashchitta should be prescribed for her so that she might conduct herself in the proper way. Thereupon it has been settled that she should perform Prayashchitta in the holy place of Karhad in the presence of the Brahmans and she should be then admitted to the right of dining with her caste people, and to other ordinary rights. Therefore this letter is addressed to you so that you may prescribe a Prayashchitta in accordance with the *Shastras* for the lady in order to admit her as before to the caste and the rights of the Brahmans and give her a letter for her caste people in Prant Rajapur."[19]

Another document[20] discovered by Mr. Rajwade and published by Mr. Potdar gives an account of a low caste woman who was simply attacked by an intending violator, but was rescued by a wayfarer. The woman although quite innocent and chaste was outcasted. On her taking a solemn oath about her innocence after the usual bath at one of the Sangams she was not only given a *shuddhapatra* or acknowledgment of her innocence but was also publicly honoured by government.

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[19] Tritiya Sammelan Vritta, pp. 93-94.

[20] *Ibid*, p. 97.

It is a pity that after a century and a half of western education we are still unprepared to show that sympathy for such unfortunate victims that the Peshwas readily extended to them under similar circumstances. The Peshwas compelled a reluctant husband to take back his deserted wife, through a sense of social duty, for restitution of conjugal rights could not be claimed by a Hindu wife.

8. *Informal Marriage:*

But neither the Peshwas nor the people of those times were unreasonable. Sometimes they would tolerate the omission of form if the motive was good, as the case quoted below amply illustrates. Sambhaji, son of Harji Gauli of Mauja Abte of Tarf Nid in Prant Kalyan came to the Huzur and represented that after the death of Singrup Gauli, his wife, after wandering here and there, came to Sambhaji's father Harji and lived with him. Harji had by her a son named Chimaji before the *Muhurta* marriage could be performed. After that both Harji and the woman died. At the time of his death Harji requested his son Sambhaji to get Chimaji legitimatised with the consent of the *got*. Thereupon Sambhaji and his uncle brought the whole fact of the case to the notice of the *got*, and they consented to get Chimaji married in a Poona family. He requested that the Saheb should issue orders to the *got* of Poona. A letter was issued and the Gaulis of Poona also admitted Chimaji into their caste.[21]

An informal marriage, though not complete for legal purposes, was declared valid if children were born to the pair. In 1755-56 the carpenter community of Sarkars Junnar, Sangamner, Baglan, and Daulatabad were ordered to acknowledge a *Shastra Vivaha* between Khandoji Banrao, a carpenter of Mauja Redgaon, and a woman after she had borne him a son. Khandoji had to pay a Nazar of Rs. 1,001 to the government on this occasion. "A letter to the Sutar community of Sarkars Junnar, Sangamner, Baglan and Daulatabad: Khandoji Banrao, a Sutar of Mauja Redgaon and Sirbande, of Pargana Chandvad, came to the Huzur, and represented that his first and second wives legally married to him (wives of Lagna marriage) were without any issue. His third wife, a woman of the carpenter caste, was married to him according to the *Shastra Vivaha* rites. Her name was Haibati, and she had borne him a son. He therefore prayed that hi caste men should be ordered to admit her into the caste after the usual assembly of the community. The *got* is ordered to assemble and admit Haibati to their caste."[22]

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[21] P. D., Vol. VII, pp. 325-326.

[22] P. D., Vol. II, p. 208.

It seems this laxity in marriage laws was allowed only among the lower castes. But in one case at least, we find that a parent's fault was not allowed to add a lasting stigma to the social position of the son even among higher castes. A letter from Shrinivas Parashram Pratinidhi to the Brahman community of Karhad relates that, the mother of Apaji Ram of Masur, was accused of adultery, and went to her parent's house, but Apaji should have the right of dining with his caste people and he has been purified by a Prayashchitta ceremony. All Brahmans should therefore procure that right for him.[23]

9. Involuntary social Offence :

We may now turn to those unfortunate outcasts who could not avoid dining with their captors, while prisoners in a Muslim camp. In those days of constant warfare, when everybody ran the risk of being taken a prisoner by their Muhammadan enemies, and as the Muhammadans of Janjira in particular treated their Hindu captives with scant consideration, their friends and relatives had to treat them leniently on their return home. The caste people of the unfortunate man were generally sympathetic and all that the Peshwa had to

[23] B. I. S. M., Tritiya Sammelan Vritta, p. 96.

do was to sanction the decision of the *got*, receive a Nazar from the grateful outcast, and to prescribe the necessary Prayashchitta for his readmission to the caste. Sometimes when the Peshwa was directly approached, a Rajsabha (or assembly of the nobles) and a Brahman-sabha were called for considering the case, and a letter was then issued to the Brahmans or to the *got*. One case here, casually selected, will illustrate the system of readmission as it prevailed during the regime of Shahu Chhatrapati. "Putaji-bin Mudhoji Wadghar, Chaugula of Kasba Jiti in Tarf Chambargonde, while employed under Davalji Somvanshi, went with the army to Surat. He fell into the hands of the Mughals and was polluted by them. He remained in the Mughal camp for a year. When Balaji Pandit Pradhan was returning from Delhi, Putaji joined his army and came to his village. He related the facts to his castemen who decided upon admitting him into the caste. The Patils of Chambhargonde, Rasni and other villages communicated the decision of the caste to the Raja and asked his permission to carry it into effect. The Raja directed that Putaji should be first purified according to the Shastras and then admitted into the caste" (Parasnis's summary).[21]

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[21] P. D., Vol. I, p. 215

Although the caste people could, subject to the government sanction, readmit a polluted member into their rank, they could not without such order exclude anybody from his caste. In 1742-43 Malharji Jadava, a Kunbi, was excluded from society; his caste people and the Shete Mahajan of Ahmadnagar were ordered by Shahu to readmit him into the caste.[25]

Not only could an innocent man be protected from the unreasonable oppression of his castemen, but a man who had willingly or unwillingly committed a social offence could, if repentant, and willing to perform the necessary penance, be forced into his caste. Very recently a Brahman Barrister had petitioned the Bombay High Court to order his caste people to invite him to their ceremonial dinners on the strength of the old practice that prevailed during the Peshwa regime; but their Lordships did not think they could exercise all the prerogatives that the Peshwas enjoyed.[26]

10. Exaction of Dowry prohibited:

As the clergy in mediaeval Europe had tried to bring under their jurisdiction everything directly or indirectly bearing a religious character, so the Peshwa also, as the head of the society, exercised a control over everything social and religious. The question of adoption and marriage came as a matter of course under these headings. The marriage regulations of the Peshwas evinced a liberal spirit that may be profitably imitated by their modern descendants. Baji Rao II strictly forbade any exaction by the bride's father from the bridegroom, and threatened to punish all parties concerned in such transactions.[27]

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[25] P. D., Vol. I, p. 210.

[26] I am indebted for this information to Sir Devaprasad Sarvadhikari.

"The officers of the Talukas of Bassein, Vijayadurg, Anjanwel and Revdanda are directed to issue orders preventing the relatives of the bride from taking any sum either as a present or as a loan from the relatives of the bridegroom. The relatives of the bridegroom or other persons settling a marriage were directed to give immediately after the marriage, information to Government of any amount paid by them to the relatives of the brides in contravention to the above order. The following penalties were prescribed:

1. The relatives of the bride receiving any such sum to return it to the relatives of the bridegroom and to pay an equal amount as fine to the government.

2. If the relatives of the bridegroom or any person settling the marriage failed to give information to government of the amount paid to the relatives of the bride, the relatives of the

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[27] P. D., Vol. V, pp. 266-268.

bridegroom should forfeit to government double the amount paid by them to the relatives of the bride, and the person settling the marriage double the amount received by him." (Summary by B. P. Joshi.)

11. Forcible Marriage:

These regulations are based on the strict injunctions of the Shastras, but the Peshwas did not hesitate to take advantage of technical flaws to declare a forcible marriage null and void. A marriage was nullified in 1778-79, although *Kanyadan* and other ceremonies were over, and the *Hom* alone remained to be performed.[28] Such a marriage is still legally incomplete, but a Hindu will regard such an excuse as flimsy on a Hindu monarch's part. But what seems particularly strange is that they should sometimes go out of their way to order the wedding of marriageable girls without being approached by their parents.[29] In fact his double function made the Peshwa's position unique in the world. The Pope could excommunicate a man, but he could not force the execution of his order by a threat of confiscation of property outside his own kingdom. The King can condemn a man to penal servitude, but he cannot further embitter his position by excommunication. The

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[28] P. D., Vol. VI, pp. 260-261.

[29] P. D., Vol. V. p. 259

Peshwas could do both yet the combination of these double authority did more good to the Hindu society than harm. In fact it is a matter of wonder that the spirit of reform gradually but surely growing under the auspices of the native rulers, should have been checked and retarded in the Bombay Presidency for more than a generation after its contact with the West.

A peculiar method of demanding justice may here be noticed, because it had its origin in the religious aspect of murder as a sin. Aggrieved parties sometimes drew the attention of the authorities to their grievances by committing suicide.[30] The aggressor, or the party giving cause of offence, was held responsible for such deeds, and not only justice was done but the aggressor was sometimes required to perform a penance.

12. Prisons :

We may now enquire how prisons were managed and how the great department of police, so necessary for prevention as well as detection of crimes, was worked.

There being no regular prisons some rooms in forts were generally used for that purpose.

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[30] This was by no means peculiar to Maharashtra. Drury noticed the custom in Travancore also. See Drury, Life and Sport in Southern India.

Elphinstone remarks that "imprisonment in hill forts and dungeons was common and the prisoners unless they were people of consideration, were always neglected, and sometimes allowed to starve. Hard labour in building fortifications was not unknown." Elphinstone's remarks were undoubtedly based on his experience of the worst days of the Maratha administration under that bad prince Baji Rao Raghunath. Hard labour it has been found is better for the health, both physical and mental, of the prisoners. And as for the rest, it seems they were treated according to the standard of the time. In Maratha prisons allowance of food was regulated by weight and not by price, and in apportioning prison rations the rank of the prisoner was taken into consideration. But such distinction is not unreasonable; because the standard of living differs in different stations of life. Even in British India, we find some difference in rations allowed for European and Indian prisoners.

13. Leave for Religious Duties:

The Maratha prisoners sometimes got leave for going home to perform some religious ceremonies like the Shradh of dead parents, marriage of grown-up daughters, and the sacred thread ceremony of grown-up sons, which the Peshwa as the ecclesiastical head could not permit to be neglected. In 1760-61 Govind Rao

Apaji, was released from his prison at fort Chandvad, as his two daughters were ten and eleven years old and could not be kept unmarried any longer, and for the marriage expenses, an order was issued to give him in cash or in ornaments Rs. 1,000 out of his family estate which was probably confiscated by the government.[31] In 1776-77, the wife and son of Trimbak Ganesh Bhat, then imprisoned at Ratnagiri, were released for the performance of the sacred thread ceremony of the boy.[32] They were however to come back to their prison after the ceremony was over. In the same year Dhondo Gopal Kelkar, an adherent of the pretender, died in his prison at fort Ghangad. His wife was imprisoned at Ratnagiri. Order was issued to release her for the performance of the Shradh ceremony of her dead husband.[33]

14. Consideration for the Prisoners Health :

At times some consideration was made for the health of the prisoners. In 1753-54 Tulaji Bhosle was transferred from Vyaghragad to Wandangad because the climate of the former place was very cold and unsuitable to the prisoner's health. Among the papers of the elder Madhava Rao's Daftar (1766-67), we find a list of nine persons imprisoned in different places for complicity in a plot with Tulaji Angre.[34] The eight male prisoners were all put in irons, while the single convict of the other sex was differently treated. The fact is worth noticing as the names of the male prisoners show that some of them were Brahmans, while the female was an ordinary Kunbin or slave girl. In 1776-77, the shackles of Dhondo Gopal Kelkar were ordered to be removed because his feet were swollen, and he was in consequence unable to stand or sit.[35] In 1773-74, Hari Sakhoji and his wife imprisoned in the fort of Sinhagad were released,[36] because they were seriously ill. The next year saw the release of nine persons belonging to the family of one Ramchandra Viththal,[37] for the climate of the fort Sinhagad did not suit their health. The cause of imprisonment in this case was evidently political, for the brother of Ramchandra, then at large, was ordered to be imprisoned in their stead. In 1781-82 four female prisoners in the fort of Ghangad got *saris*, bodices and blankets as the place was cold.[38] That one of these women was not a Brahman can be easily guessed from her name Darki Kayasthin. Keso Moreshwar Phadke and his wife Rakhmabai were imprisoned at Revdanda. The lady became pregnant in 1806-07. The fort was an unsuitable place for her delicate condition and Baji Rao Raghunath ordered her to be released and to be sent to her relatives.[39]

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[31] P. D., Vol. II, p. 76.

[32] P. D., Vol. VIII, p. 141.

[33] P. D., Vol. VIII, p. 142.

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[34] P. D., Vol. VII, p. 239.

[35] P. D., Vol. VIII, p. 142.

[36] P. D., Vol. VIII, pp. 136-137.

[37] P. D., Vol. VIII, pp. 139-140.

[38] P. D., Vol. VIII, pp. 151-152.

The wives and relations of prisoners were sometimes permitted to live with them in their prison rooms to look after them whenever their health demanded it. The servants and the relatives in such cases were fed by the government during their residence in the prison. In 1777-78, during the administration of the second Madhava Rao, it was ordered that the wife of Mahadji Ganesh Phadke, a prisoner in the fort of Chandangad, and a female attendant should be permitted to reside with him, for the prisoner felt indisposed and the usual ration should be given them.[40] Similar permissions were given to the family of Madhava Rao Krishna Bhingarkar in 1785-86.[41]

15. Treatment of Political Prisoners:

But it should be remembered that no prisoner could demand any privilege as a matter of right. They had to depend entirely on the favour of those in authority and not infrequently had to pay for it. Sakharam Hari Gupte, a faithful friend and adherent of Raghoba, was very inhumanly treated in the prison. He was loaded with heavy irons, he was kept in unhealthy places, and ultimately ill health, bad food and unusual rigours of the prison life brought about his death. His wife had left no stone unturned in order to secure the government permission for nursing her husband in the prison. She spent her all and paid heavily for the favour which was granted to others. But when the favour was finally purchased her husband needed no nurse He was out of all troubles.

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[39] P. D., Vol. V, p. 225.

[40] P. D., Vol. VIII, p. 143.

[41] P. D., Vol. VIII, pp. 152-153.

But the political prisoners were ordinarily well-treated. Good arrangements were made for their boarding and lodging, as well as for other comforts, although they were strictly watched, and their communication with the outside world, and sometimes with their own warders, was strictly prohibited. Mr. Ranade has made mention of the rigour with which the supporters of Raghoba Dada and the pretender were treated. But we have to remember what trouble these men gave to the state. The Maratha statesmen were not naturally cruel. The pretender was not thrown under the feet of an elephant until he had fled from his prison and endangered the security of the government. The ordinary soldiers of his party were leniently treated, as were some of the adherents of Sumer Singh, the murderer of Narayan Rao.

It is a pity that we know very little about the internal management of prisons under the Peshwas. In Europe philanthropists and reformers like John Howard and Elizabeth Fry visited the prisons and exposed their horrible condition. Unfortunately, however, no such graphic accounts of the Maratha prisons have come down to us. In England we are told, "the people were made worse in prison. They left it better instructed in crime than when they entered." We do not know what the effect of a term of imprisonment was upon the morals of a Maratha offender. But whilst the denizens of Enghlish prisons in the 18th century were mostly small debtors, it appears that the prisoners in Maratha hill forts were mostly criminals, and some attempts were made to secure their moral welfare. Kashi, wife of Trimbakji Chawan, left her home and began to practise adultery. She was sent to be imprisoned in the fort of Sarasgad with instructions that strict watch should be kept over her to prevent her immoral practices.[42]

The offenders convicted for adultery were always imprisoned at different places, so that the man could never in future meet the woman.

Some extra precaution, it seems, was taken in the case of Brahman prisoners. The death or suicide of a Brahman was commonly believed to bring calamity upon the country. Brahman prisoners tried to secure their release by threats of suicide, and were therefore put under a very strict watch.

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[42] D. P., Vol, VIII, p. 190.

The greatest defect in the Maratha system was that the prisoner had hardly any right. He might be very leniently treated and he might suffer from all sorts of hardships. Everything depended on the nature of his offence, his rank and wealth; but ordinary offenders escaped uncommon hardship on account of their obscurity.

16. The Police:

From the prison we shall now turn to the police. Here, as in the judicial administration, it will be convenient to begin from the village. The village police was under the Patil, and the chief police officer in the rural republics was the Mahar. The district police was under the Mamlatdar.

In detection of crime the *Jaglas* or village watchmen, consisting generally of Mahars and Mangs, were helped by criminal tribes as the Ramoshis, Bhils, and Kolis. Unless the stolen property could be recovered or the offence could be traced to some other village, the Police and the criminal classes had to compensate the party robbed. All responsibility however ended with the detection of the offenders or tracing the offence to another village. In the latter case the inhabitants of the place to which the offence had been traced were liable to make compensation. But sufficient proof had to be put forward for such suspicion before the police and the criminal tribes could shake off their responsibility. Mr. V. K. Rajwade has published an incomplete report of such a tracing of offence in the 10th Volume of his Sources of Maratha History (page 116). The case is so interesting that we wish that the rest of the report could have been recovered. Abaji Khando, an officer, was going home with a report from Dada Saheb. He was robbed by thieves near Khandyala. The people of Khandyala traced the offence as far as Bhuinj. Thence it ought to have been traced towards Chingholi, but the Ramoshis, by a common compact, asserted that the Ramoshis of Khadki had committed the offence and also induced Abaji Khando to support their assertion. The Ramoshis of Khadki were thereupon thrown into prison, but there was no proof whatever against them. Abaji Khando's loss was valued at Rs. 30, and it was settled that the Ramoshis of seven villages should subscribe the amount.

17. *Criminal Tribes :*

The peace of the country was generally disturbed by Bhils and Kolis living a semi-independent and altogether uncivilised life in the hills and jungles. Complete subjugation of these hill tribes was impossible. Hence their chiefs were held responsible for any theft and disturbance committed by them. For the Police duties performed by the Bhil Naiks, they were permitted by the government to levy certain customary dues or *Haks*. So successful was this Police arrangement that inspite of its evident theoretical defects, Elphinstone recommended its continuance in the early days of the British administration in the Bombay Presidency.

When there was any unusual outbreak of theft and robbery, an additional force from the local Shibandi or the neighbouring forts was sent to help the local police. A force of 101 Rohila *Gardis* was sent in 1782-83 to help the Kamavisdar of Nasik, because thefts and dacoities had increased there.[13] The expenses of these additional police force were met by a house-tax payable by everybody including Brahmans, but the poor were generally exempted. In the year 1777-78 Krishna Rao Anant had to employ 33 Berads and Mangs at an annual expenditure of Rs. 2,104. He was instructed to raise this amount by taxing the well-to-do alone.[14]

Such additional Police force was also sent on temporary duty for maintaining peace and order in holy places of pilgrimage like Pandharpur and Nasik at the time of great religious festivals when people of all descriptions flocked there. In 1753-54, one hundred and fifty men from the forts of Satara, Chandan and Wandan and twenty-five horsemen were deputed to Pali for one month to maintain order at the annual fair.[45] In 1788-89 one hundred *Gardis* were sent to Nasik to keep order among the pilgrims visiting the place during the *Sinhastha*.[46]

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[13] P. D., Vol. VIII, pp. 133-134.

[14] P. D., Vol. VIII, pp. 132-133.

18. The Kotwal:

In big cities the police was placed under an officer called Kotwal. His duties included regulation of prices and taking of census. The duties of the officer are enumerated as follows in a document issued in 1767-68, for the guidance of Janardan Hari, when he was appointed to the Kotwalship of Poona:

1. Minor disputes in the Peths and in the Kasba should be disposed of by the Kamavisdars of the several Peths: disputes of importance should be disposed of by the Kotwal.

2. The Kotwal should fix the prices of goods and a list of the prices fixed should be daily submitted to the Government.

3. The Kotwal should arrange to supply labourers as required by Government from

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[45] P. D., Vol. II, p. 72.

[46] P. D., Vol. VIII, p. 186.

among the artizans and the members of the several castes in the city; sales and purchases of land sites should be made with the permission of the Kotwal who should prepare the necessary documents and receive the fees due to Government.

4. The Kotwal should take the census; he should keep a record of all persons coming into and leaving the city. The Kamavisdars of the Peths should supply him with information on this point.

5. Should the Kotwal consider any regulation followed by the last Kotwal or any new regulation to be fit for adoption, he should report it to the Huzur and act in accordance with such orders as might then be issued.

6. All disputes relating to roads, lanes and houses should be disposed of by the Kotwal.

7. The Kotwal should furnish monthly accounts to Government.

8. The Kotwal should issue orders for any proclamation being made by the beat of drum.

9. Professional gamblers should not gamble without the permission of the Kotwal who should levy from them the usual fees. Other persons are not allowed to gamble.[47]

It is needless to say that his ample authority gave the Kotwal ample opportunities for abusing it. The abuse of power reached its climax in the notorious Ghasiram, a Kanojia Brahman, who occupied the post of Kotwal at Poona during the administration of Nana Fadnavis. Much capital has been made out of his case by European writers. Grant Duff remarks, "No instance of greater neglect on the part of an administration, or of more extraordinary criminality in a subordinate officer, is recorded in the annals of any state than the case of Ghasiram, Kotwal, or Police Superintendent, of the city of Poona. This man, a Brahman native of Hindoostan, employed the power with which he was vested in perpetrating the most dreadful murders. People disappeared and no trace of them could be found. Ghasiram was suspected, but Nana Fadnavis refused to listen to complaints, apparently absurd from their unexampled atrocity." I do not think that Ghasiram's case reflects any discredit on the administration in general.

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[47] P. D., Vol, VII. pp. 233-236. Summary by B. P. Joshi.

19. Forbes on Ghasiram's case:

It appears from a contemporary English account that there was not a tithe of evidence against Ghasiram, and he was an unfortunate victim of undeserved suspicion. According to Forbes, who derived his information from no less a personage than Sir Charles Malet, the mob was encouraged "by many persons desirous of mortifying the ruling minister through the ignominy of the cutwal his dependant." The Peshwa weakly surrendered the 'foreigner' into the hands of an infuriated mob that subjected the Kotwal to all sorts of humiliation and finally stoned him to death.[48]

The officers of Indian Police in those days were not without their faults, and we cannot say that supervision by English officers has absolutely purged that department of corruption even now. About thirty years ago, a Brahman officer of Bengal Police was accused and convicted of an offence, which would make Ghasiram blush and cry shame. That does not prove any neglect of supervision on the part of the higher authorities. Abuse there was, but it seldom assumed such a serious character as to be accounted a great public danger. Elphinstone remarks, "The Police however was good on the whole, murder or robberies attended with violence and alarm were very rare; and I have never heard any complaints of the insecurity of property."

Baji Rao II, weak and wicked as he was, did much for the improvement of the police. A special officer called *Tapasnavis* was appointed by him for general supervision and inspection of the police force. They were quite independent of the Mamlatdars and their jurisdiction did not always coincide with revenue districts.

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[48] Forbes, Oriental Memories, Vol. II, p. 135. The full account of the affair will be found in a letter published in the 9th volume of Aitihasik Lekha Sangraha by Vasudev Shastri Khare.

20. *The Metropolitan Police:*

The Metropolitan Police at Poona became a model body during the administration of the last of the Peshwas. The efficiency and honesty of this body had extorted the applause of critics like Elphinstone and Tone. William Henry Tone served in the army of Baji Rao II, and he had first-hand knowledge of the Peshwa's Government. His remarks therefore claim our best regards. Tone says, "It is little remarkable for anything but its excellent Police which alone employs thousand men. After the firing of the gun, which takes place at ten at night, no person can appear in the streets without being taken up by the Patroles, and detained prisoner until dismissed in the morning by the Kotwal. So strict is the discipline observed that the Peshwa himself had been kept prisoner a whole night for being out at improper hours." No less than Rs. 9,000, Elphinstone tells us, were spent for the upkeep of this splendid body consisting of a large number of peons, horse patrols and Ramoshis. Lt. Edward Moor and his brother officers visited Poona in 1792 and they heard that the police of Poona was "uncommonly well regulated."[49]

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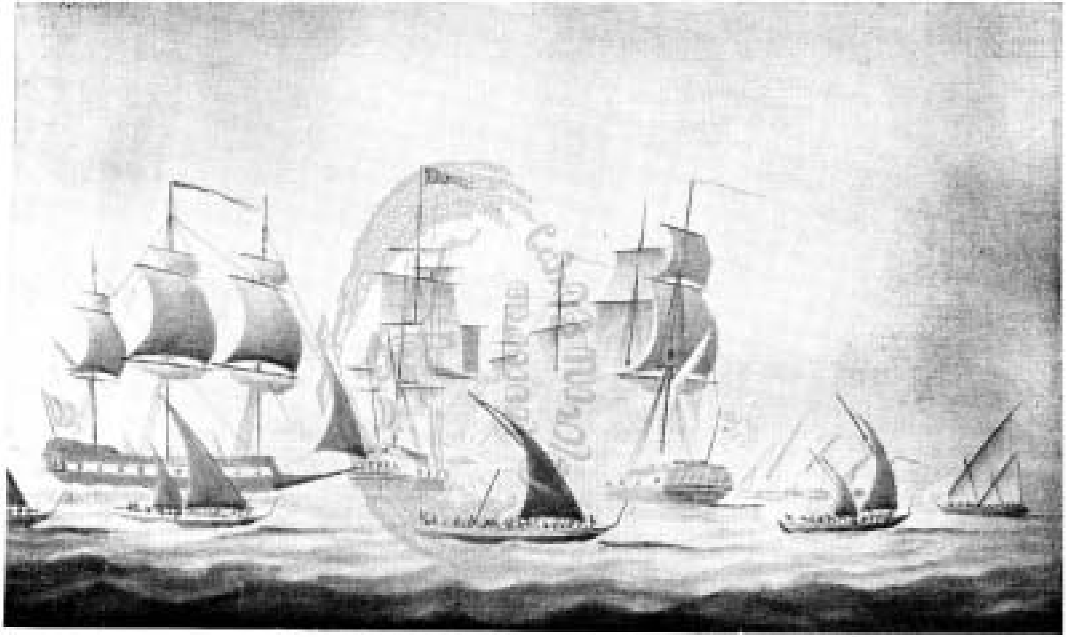
[49] Moor, A Narrative of the Operations of Captain Little's Detachment (London 1794), p. 364.

We cannot say that the London police of the time was as efficient as the Poona police, before its reorganisation by Peel. Sir Spencer Walpole says, "There was no efficient police force in London. A small horse patrol nominally guarded the suburbs; a small foot patrol nominally guarded the metropolis. The horse patrol consisted of only fifty-four, the foot patrol of only one hundred men. The peace of London, otherwise, depended on the parish constables in the day time, on the old watch at night. The ingenuity of man could have hardly devised a feebler protection."

The Maratha institutions, compared branch by branch with those of contemporary Europe, cannot fail to extort our admiration by superiority and excellenee in many cases.



An English Ship attacked by the Marathas

From Biddulph's Malabar Pirates

CHAPTER IX

OTHER ASPECTS OF ADMINISTRATION

Before concluding we may take a passing notice of the Navy and Army of the Peshwas; a fuller treatment, however, will be reserved for some other place. We may also have a cursory glance at the condition of education in Maharashtra, and the postal system and how it was conducted by the indigenous rulers of the Bombay Presidency before the introduction of the British rule.

1. The Navy:

The Maratha was more familiar with the rugged hills of his native land than with the stormy sea that washed its broken coast. But the genius of Shivaji had early perceived the importance of naval power not only as an effective arm of war, but also as an instrument for the extension of oversea trade. Scott Waring says, "Sevajee in his irregular incursions into the Konkan had beheld with admiration the powerful settlements, for so they must have appeared to him, which had been formed upon the coast. He aspired to participate in so profitable a commerce and while spreading his ravages throughout Konkan, found leisure to add to the fortifications of Rajapoor, Seven-droog and Colaba." And again, "Sevajee from the commencement of his power had justly estimated the value of the maritime possessions and the greater part of his attention had been directed to the attainment of so desirable an object. The completion of his plans was entrusted to Moropant his principal minister." Although he had enough to do on land, he succeeded in organising a fleet, and a Muhammadan officer was placed in charge of Shivaji's navy. It accomplished very little excepting some fighting with the Siddis. In 1670 a large Portuguese ship was captured near Daman by the Maratha fleet.

The Maratha naval power saw its zenith under the Angrias, but as they were practically independent of the Peshwas, the Angria's fleet does not fall within the scope of this work. Under the Peshwas the navy formed a regular department. It had its headquarters at Vijayadurg and Bassein, and the revenue of several Mahals was granted for the naval establishment. We shall here notice two points only in connection with the naval policy of the Peshwas.

Long before the birth of Admiral Mahan the Peshwas had realised the necessity of the growth of a commercial navy for the development of naval power and we actually find Balaji Baji

Rao seriously thinking of employing trained sailors of merchantmen in times of war on an increased pay,[1] and Madhava Rao II enlisted fifty private Mahagiris in 1774-75.[2] And although the principle of using hereditary officers or Darakhdars as a check upon their official superiors was at first used in the administration of naval affairs, it had to be given up in recognition of the necessity of undivided command and guidance in the navy. The principle, however, was not abandoned all at once. In a letter of Madhava Rao I (1765-66) to Admiral Ananda Rao Dhulap we find the first recognition of the necessity of undivided command. Madhava Rao I did not recall the Darakhdars of the navy but he appointed Jagannath Narayan the civil head of the navy to supervise and control the work of the Darakhdars on a salary of Rs. 2,000 a year. While the Admiral (*Subhedar* of the *Armar*) was the military head of the navy, the Amin was its civil head; and he was generally responsible for such work as accounts, muster-roll, purchase of provision, etc. It is noteworthy that in this letter mention is made of the naval power of the Europeans. "The Europeans are hostile at sea and negligent men should be removed and really good men should be procured."[3]

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[1] P. D., Vol. III, pp. 186-87.

[2] P. D., Vol. VI, p. 194.

[3] P. D., Vol. IX, pp. 340-341.

In 1781-82 the second Madhava Rao recalled the Darakhdars of the navy, as admiral Ananda Rao Dhulap could not pull on well with them, and the entire charge of the navy was entrusted to Dhulap.[1] The letter conveying the above order, instructs Ananda Rao to fit out 19 ships; 3 pals, 3 ghurabs, and 13 gallibats, for an expedition.

The Maratha fleet was generally employed for checking piracy, collecting Zakat from merchant-men coming to and going from Maratha ports, and also for taking possession of wrecks within territorial water. These last belonged as a right to the Peshwa's government, but the English had obtained an exemption by treaty for their own ships as well as for ships belonging to merchants of Bombay. Sovereignty over territorial sea was therefore recognised and exercised. The Admiral granted passports to merchantmen sailing within his jurisdiction.

2. *Salary of Naval Officers:*

During the administration of Balaji Baji Rao the annual salary of the Admiral was Rs. 1,186 in addition to grain measuring 16½ maunds, while the petty officers and sailors got the following pay:

Sar Tandel ...	... Rs. 10	per month.
Tandel ...	... Rs. 7-8	,, ,,
Sailor ...	... Rs. 4-8 to 5 ,,	,,

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[1] P. D., Vol. VI, pp. 195-196.

Some food allowance in kind was also given in addition to money salary, the amount varying with the rank of the man.[5]

The officers and sailors of the navy were suitably rewarded by the Peshwas for good services in war. Madhava Rao I distributed Rs. 4,250 among officers and sailors of the navy for their services in a war against Haidar Ali. Three officers Damaji Naik Kuveskar, Shivaji Rao Surve and Vithoji Naik Bamvkar got Rs. 300, Rs. 250 and Rs. 200 respectively. Balaji Hari Fadnis received Rs. 500, and Serangs and sailors got Rs. 3,000 in all.[6]

The Angrias and other Maratha naval leaders have often been charged with piracy for capturing and detaining vessels of friendly nations that did not sail with their *dastak* or permit. This however was not regarded as an act of piracy by the Marathas. They were not a little guided by Portuguese precedents in their naval affairs, and the Portuguese deemed it necessary to assert their sovereignty of the sea by compelling every vessel to seek and carry their *Cartas.* Not only merchants of friendly nation but friendly potentates like the Sultan of Bijapur and the King of Canara had to secure the previous permission of the Portuguese government before sending their ships on a voyage in the Indian

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[5] P. D., Vol. III, pp. 185-187.

[6] P. D., Vol. IX, p. 344.

Ocean. The merchants had to pay a fee, which varied according to the capacity of their ships, and to acknowledge the Portuguese right of search before they could obtain a Cartaz. In a letter addressed to the Siddi of Janjira on the 16th of December, 1715, the Portuguese Viceroy pompously asserted, "There is no prince in Asia who is not aware that the Most High and Powerful King of Portugal is the sovereign of the Indian seas and the same is acknowledged by the Great Moghul King and the Magnificent King of Persia inasmuch as their vessels take *Cartazes* and observe all the conditions mentioned therein."[7] In another letter addressed to the Siddi fifteen years earlier the Portuguese government had emphasised the same principle by saying, "the Portuguese are the sovereigns of seas and not pirates."[8] The Marathas could and did advance the same argument.[9] Moreover, it should not be forgotten that the merchantmen captured by the Portuguese or the Marathas were not necessarily unarmed or unprotected. From the Cartazes published in Biker's monumental collection, it appears that some of the merchantmen that sought and got Cartazes were well armed. A ghurab of Govind Das Nana, a Gujrat merchant, for instance carried nine pieces of artillery.[10] It

[7] Reis Visinhos, Tomo VII, fols. 26 & 27.

[8] Reis Visinhos, Tomo IV, fol. 28.

[9] For a fuller discussion see Sen, *Historical Records at Goa*.

[10] Biker, Vol. IV, pp. 186-188.

is therefore clear that they deliberately defied a power claiming sovereignty of the sea when they omitted to procure its Cartaz or *dastak*, and if they suffered in consequence they had very little reason to complain.

3. The Army:

Shivaji's followers were nearly all of them natives of Maharashtra. There was a sprinkling of Muhammadan soldiers and officers in his army, but on the whole it was composed of homogeneous elements capable of being inspired with common ideals and common interests. The great Maratha leader had a distrust for feudal levies, his officers and men were paid directly by him and he carefully refrained from creating fresh fiefs. The Peshwas, on the other hand, relied mainly on feudal forces and divided the whole of the Maratha Empire into a number of military Jagirs. The Sardars or feudal Barons on their part sublet a part of their fiefs to some of their favourites and subordinates in lieu of military service and sub-infeudation resulted with all its concomitant evils. The feudal chiefs were more attentive to their own interests and were absolutely incapable of taking a broad view of the imperial interests. This was the real cause of the interminable civil wars that characterised the closing years of the Maratha Empire. Sindhia was a Sardar of the Peshwa and was in theory bound to render him military service whenever necessary. Khande Rao Hari, better known as Appa Khande Rao, held his fief of the Sindhia and owed his allegiance to him. George Thomas, an Irish adventurer, received his Jagir from Khande Rao Hari and was expected to serve him loyally and faithfully. But Daulat Rao Sindhia did not hesitate to impose his authority on his master the Peshwa, Khande Rao Hari was equally prepared to wage a war against his immediate feudal over lord and master the Sindhia and George Thomas, a foreigner, naturally cared more for his own interests than for his master's welfare. If the feudal lords felt inclined sometimes to fight against the Peshwa, it is no wonder that they were frequently engaged against their neighbours and fellow chiefs. This was detrimental to the solidarity and unity of the empire to which they all belonged and which they were supposed to serve. But unfortunately this was not the only defect of the Maratha military system.

4. *Employment of Foreigners :*

Shivaji generally enlisted in his army Marathas of his own race, but in the Peshwa's army were employed men of all races, religions and creeds. Rajputs, Sikhs, Rohillas, Sindhis, Gossains, Karnatakis, Arabs, Abyssinians, Telingas, Bedars and Christian and Shenvi subjects of the

Portuguese Government were all welcomed by the Peshwa and his tenants-in-chief. And when conflict with European powers brought home to them the superiority of western discipline and military science, English, French, Portuguese German, Swiss, Italian, American and Armenian adventurers were eagerly employed. They had no common interest with their employers, and the interests of the English officers in the Maratha service were often opposed to those of the state they served. Their intimate knowledge of the country and its defence was therefore used against their former masters when war broke out between the Marathas and the English. Writing about the easy capture of the strong fortress of Koel or Alighar, Thorn remarks—" It should here be observed that the achievement was materially facilitated by the loyal and gallant conduct of Mr. Lucan, a British officer, who had lately quitted the service of Scindiah, to avoid fighting against his country. On joining our army he undertook to lead Colonel Monson to the gate, and point out the road through the fort, which he effected in such a manner as to gain the particular thanks of the commander-in-chief, and the public acknowledgments of the government "[11] It was probably to prevent such a betrayal of military secrets that Jaswant Rao

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[11] Thorn, Memoir of the Campaigns in Hindoostan p. 99.

Holkar cruelly murdered Majors Vickers, Dodd and Ryan, when they refused to serve against their countrymen. It was natural and honourable on the part of English soldiers to stand by their countrymen in India, but even the French employees in the Maratha army could not always be relied on in a war against the English as Daulat Rao discovered to his cost when Perron and most of his compatriots made their terms with the British government and retired to British territories leaving the trained battalions of Sindhia to be led by their native officers.

It should be noted here that Shivaji had some Portuguese officers in his army.[12] But what exactly was their duty and on what terms they had been employed we do not know. A number of European adventurers had also found employment in the fleet of the celebrated Kanhoji Angria,[13] long before Mahadaji Sindhia thought of engaging de Boigne. But it should not be forgotten that tempting as the terms offered by the Indian princes were they seldom attracted European officers of real ability. With the exception of de Boigne and Raymond there was not perhaps a single European officer in the Indian armies who could boast of a sound education and military training. Most of them were adventurers of a low type without any character, as Colonel Skinner tersely observed and he had reasons to know [14] Perron and George Thomas were runaway sailors, but they did not belong properly speaking to the Peshwa's army. The account that Moor gives of Mr. Yvon, who commanded a corps in the service of the Peshwa, is hardly complimentary to the judgment and choice of his employers, if he was the type of the European officers employed by the Poona authorities. Lt. Moor writes of him—" As this gentleman's history is very little, indeed not at all known it will be interesting to many of this detachment to hear some account of him. His name was Evans, and the last place in which he was known by it was at Vellore, where he was quarter-master sergeant of a troop of cavalry of the Mádras establishment. At that time which must be twelve or more years previous to his death, he had with him a European woman, supposed to be his wife, who being expert in the art of making pastry, as Evans was at fencing, they lived very comfortably on the profits of their several employments. At length, in consequence of a dispute with his superior, Evans and wife left Vellore clandestinely, and were never more heard of by his corps until the time of which we are now speaking. His employment for several years is not known, but after a considerable lapse of time, we find him in an inferior station in the corps that he latterly commanded. In a former war between the Mahrattas and Tippoo, we believe it was at the siege of Badamy his gallantry and good conduct were so conspicuous, that a vacancy happening, he was appointed to command the corps, and his former companion being dead, he married a native Christian, it appears chiefly from gratitude, for attentions and kindnesses to him when wounded and on other occasions." [13] We are further informed by Moor that the dues of Evans from the Poona government amounted to forty thousand Rupees at the time of his death. What his pay was we do not know, and as the Maratha government was very irregular in its payment, the sum, most probably, represented more than 12 month's salary.

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[12] Biker, Vol. IV, p. 126, Sen, *Historical Records at Goa*, p. 9.

[13] Downing,

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[14] Memoir of Skinner.

Evans had under him about fifty Europeans of different nationalities. He served in the Peshwa's army during the administration of Madhava Rao II. His successor Baji Rao II was more fortunate in his European officers. He appointed Colonel J. R. Boyd, an American, to command a regiment of trained infantry, the numerical strength of which was 1,683.

One of Boyd's colleagues in the Peshwa's service was William Henry Tone, brother of the famous Irish rebel, Theobald Wolfe Tone, who had like his American commander served in the Nizam's army before joining the Peshwa's forces. The European adventurers who came to India changed their masters very frequently. A monthly account of the salary expenses of Boyd's Regiment has been published in the fifth volume of the Peshwas' Diaries.[16] Boyd is there wrongly described as Mr. Bight, an Englishman. His regiment of trained infantry cost the Peshwa Rs. 26,242 a month and the officers and men were paid at the following rate:

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[13] Moor, A Narrative of the Operations of Captain Little's Detachment, pp. 26, 27

Colonel Boyd ...	Rs. 3,000.
2 Captains ...	Rs. 900 at the rate of Rs. 450 each.
4 Lieutenants ...	Rs. 1,000 at the rate of Rs. 250 each.
3 Sergeants ...	Rs. 270 at the rate of Rs. 90 each.
14 Subhedars ...	Rs. 700 at the rate of Rs. 50 each.
2 Kumedans(?)...	Rs. 160 at the rate of Rs. 80 each.
59 Havaldars ...	Rs. 1,050 (54) at the rate of Rs. 18 per head and (4) at the rate of Rs. 15 each.
38 Naiks ...	Rs. 460 at the rate of Rs. 12 (36) men and Rs. 14 (2 men) each.

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[16] P. D., Vol. V. pp. 184-187.

6 Tambarchis [17]	Rs. 120 at the rate of Rs. 20 each.
6 Pipers ...	Rs. 150 at the rate of Rs. 20 each.
2 Cymbals beaters	Rs. 40 at the rate of Rs. 20 each.
5 Standard bearers ...	Rs. 60 at the rate of Rs. 12 each.
7 Drummers ...	Rs. 84 at the rate of Rs. 12 each.
3 Karkuns (clerks)	Rs. 120 at the rate of Rs. 40 early.
14 Bhistis (water carriers) ...	Rs. 84 at the rate of Rs. 6 each.
6 Torch bearers	Rs. 36 at the rate of Rs. 6 each.
7 Scouts ...	Rs. 49 at the rate of Rs. 7 each.
2 Shield bearers	Rs. 12 at the rate of Rs. 6 each.

Artillery:

8 Portuguese ...	Rs. 480 at the rate of Rs. 60 each.
2 Jamadars ...	Rs. 60 at the rate of Rs. 30 each.
2 Havaldars ...	Rs. 36 at the rate of Rs. 18 each.
42 Golandaz ...	Rs. 504 at the rate of Rs. 12 each.

The beater of a Tambura or small Turkish guiter.

24 Khalasis	Rs. 240 at the rate of Rs. 10 each.
9 Carpenters	Rs. 102 at the rate of Rs. 12(5) and Rs. 10-8-0 (4 men) each.
8 Blacksmiths	Rs. 88 at the rate of Rs. 11 each.
10 Beldars (stone cutters)	Rs. 80 at the rate of Rs. 8 each.
5 Tabeldars[18]	Rs. 45 at the rate of Rs. 9 each.

The New Regiment.

1 Captain	Rs. 450.
2 Lieutenants	Rs. 500 at the rate of Rs. 250 each.
1 Sergeant	Rs. 90.
4 Subhedars	Rs. 200 at Rs. 50 each.
5 Jamadars	Rs. 150 at Rs. 30 each.
32 Havaldars	Rs. 576 at Rs. 18 each.
7 Naiks	Rs. 84 at Rs. 12 each.
7 Tambarchis	Rs. 140 at Rs. 20 each.
6 Pipers	Rs. 120 at Rs. 20 each.
1 Cymbal beater	Rs. 20.
12 Bhistis	Rs. 72 at Rs. 6 each.
484 Sepoys	Rs. 4,356 at Rs. 9 each.
20 Portuguese Musketeers	Rs. 800 at Rs. 40 each.
10 Drummers	Rs. 120 at Rs. 12 each.

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[18] A hewer of wood, the word is generally understood as a *lascar* or *clashee* following a camp.—*Molesworth.*

5 Karkuns	Rs. 200 at Rs. 40 each.
4 Torchbearers	Rs. 24 at Rs. 6 each.
1 Jamadar of Sowars	Rs. 55.
15 Sowars	Rs. 525 at Rs. 35 each.

Artillery.

6 Havaldars	Rs. 108 at Rs. 18 each.
24 Golandaz	Rs. 288 at Rs. 12 each.
12 Khalasis	Rs. 120 at Rs. 10 each.
2 Daruwalas (Powder suppliers)	Rs. 60 at Rs. 30 each.
2 Chaudharis	Rs. 20 at Rs. 10 each.
7 Carters	Rs. 49 at Rs. 7 each.
8 Beldars	Rs. 64 at Rs. 8 each.
3 Tabeldars	Rs. 27 at Rs. 9 each.
1 Jamadar who supervises the workshop	Rs. 30.
7 Blacksmiths	Rs. 77 at Rs. 11 each.
4 Chambhars (leather workers)	Rs. 24 at Rs. 6 each.
2 Karkuns	
Ramchandra Krishna Apaji Chimnaji	Rs. 300 at the rate of Rs. 150 each.

Grand Total Rs. 26,242.

It is needless to say that the native Maratha officers or Jagirdars were not so well paid. Mahipat Rao Kavde was granted in the year

1762-63 a Saranjam of Rs. 6,25,000 for maintaining a force of 2,500 Sowars. His salary including all sorts of allowance was fixed at Rs. 25,000 a year while Boyd was appointed thirty-three years later on a salary of Rs. 36,000 a year though the Regiment he commanded was much smaller. Of course the feudal chief generally managed to make more than a legitimate profit by avoiding his legal obligations, but we should not forget that a horseman did as a rule get a better salary than his brother in the infantry. The Portuguese officers in the Peshwa's employ were also more liberally treated. In 1789-90 a Portuguese soldier called "Musa Almel" (?) was appointed to the command of a small unit of twenty-five men and he received a monthly salary of Rs. 155. The Indians serving under him got Rs. 9 only per month, while their native Christian and Portuguese colleagues got Rs. 15 and Rs. 25 respectively.

5. *The Arabs :*

Of the Asiatics in the Maratha army the most favoured, so far as pay was concerned, were the Arabs. Baji Rao II had a large number of these foreigners in his army as we are informed by men like Blacker and Prinsep who had opportunities to know. Blacker tells us that "Every substantive Native Power had a portion of these troops."[19] And Prinsep writes:[20] "It may be proper to mention, as a proof of the estimation in which the Arabs are held as soldiers by the native powers, the rate of pay they received in the Peshwa's army in comparison with natives of other countries.

Arabs, natives of Arabia...	15 Rupees a month.
Their descendants born in the country ...	10 Rupees a month.
Hindoostanees (the same as our sepoys) ...	8 Rupees a month.
Mahrattas and Dukhunees	6 Rupees a month."

This certainly betrays a most deplorable state of things. A state that looks towards foreigners for its defence and relies on foreign mercenaries in times of war can hardly be considered a stable one. For the foreign mercenaries, who constituted the majority of the Maratha infantry, both trained and untrained, could be inspired by one motive only, *viz.*, that of self-aggrandisement. It is noteworthy that most of the murderers of the young Peshwa, Narayan Rao belonged to this class. Tone, who had personal knowledge of the Pardesis, gave them the worst possible character. "They are more soldiers of fortune," he wrote, "and serve only for their pay: they migrate from Hindustan to the Deckan for service where they are called Pardesis or strangers: they have no idea of patriotism or love of their country, but would plunder their native village without pang."

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[19] Blacker, p. 21.

[20] Prinsep, Vol. II, p. 160.

When exactly these foreigners first found their way into the Maratha army we do not know. There is documentary evidence that some Arabs were employed on a salary of Rs. 11 per month as early as 1742 during the administration of Balaji Baji Rao.[21] It was probably when the Marathas first established their authority on the northern banks of the Nurbudda that the necessity of a strong body of infantry was for the first time felt for the reduction of forts and strongholds in that quarter. And as the Marathas as a rule preferred to serve in the cavalry, foreigners like Rajputs, Sikhs, Rohillas, Sindhis and Arabs had to be recruited for this new service and to induce them to enlist in large numbers attractive terms had to be offered.

6. *The Cavalry:*

Before the introduction of the European methods in the Maratha army its main strength lay in the cavalry. The Peshwa maintained his personal force or Khasgi paga and the whole country was divided among Saranjamis or Jagirdars on military tenure. According to a paper published in the Kavyetihas Sangraha the principal Maratha leaders received Jagirs to the value mentioned against their name for maintaining a stipulated number of Sowars (horsemen).

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[21] P. D., Vol. III, p. 165.

	Sowars.	For a Jagir of
Malhar Rao Holkar	22,000	95 lakhs.
Ananda Rao Pawar	15,000	45 ,,
Patwardhans :		
Chintaman Pandurang and Gangadhar Govind	3,000	11 ,,
Parshuram Ramchandra	1,500	6½ ,,
Kurundvadkar	300	2½ ,,
Pratinidhi	5,000	14 ,,
Rastia	3,000	21 ,,
Ghorpade of Mudhol	800	4 ,,
Panse	Artillery	3½ ,,
Throat	500	1¼ ,,
Bhapkar	150	60 thous.
Nana Fadnavis	700	4½ lakhs.
Tryambakrao Pethe	1,200	7½ ,,
Raja of Akalkot	1,000	4½ ,,
Sultan Rao	500	1½ ,,
Purandare	300	2,32,000

The paper need not be quoted in full. It is noteworthy that while the Holkar enjoyed a Jagir of 95 lakhs for maintaining a force of 22,000 horse, Ananda Rao Pawar got a Jagir of 45 lakhs only for a force of 15 thousand. The Saranjami was usually a man of approved service and wide military experience. He was informed how many horsemen he was expected to bring to the field. In his Sanad his personal allowance including all usual items was clearly mentioned as well as the salary he was to pay to each of his Sowar. This varied from Rs. 250 to Rs. 300 a year. He was also expected to look after the civil administration of his Jagir and to provide for its agricultural improvement. The clerical work of the army under him was done by a number of Darakhdars appointed by the Peshwa, but paid out of the Jagir of the Saranjami or fief holder. Thus in the Sanad granted to Mahipat Rao Kavde in 1762-63 we read that he was to employ the undermentioned civil officers at the following annual salary[22] :—

	Rs. per year.
Diwan	5,000
Khasnis	5,000
Fadnis	950
Sabnis	400
Daftardar	500
Chitnis	400
Parasnis	250
Jamdar	300
Potnis	400

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[22] P.D., Vol. IX, pp. 310-314.

The incumbents of these offices were all mentioned by name and Mahipatrao was expected to bring his force for a general muster each year and to receive an acknowledgment after the Sowars had been counted.

The Shiledars obtained an advance called *Nalbandi* for preliminary expenses and we learn from a document of Balaji Baji Rao's time that horses were divided into three classes according to their price. "A horse worth Rs. 400 should be classed as superior, that worth Rs. 200 as middling and that worth Rs. 100 as inferior. Any horse worth less than Rs. 100 should not be counted in the muster. A horse classed as superior but having a bad rider should not be counted in the muster."[23]

A cavalry regiment was generally served by a number of attendants, and that under Ranoji Bhonsle had no less than 5 Karkuns and 181 attendants though its fighting strength was 700. There were in this regiment, 9 Rikibdars (stirrup holders), 5 Farriers, 8 Camel-drivers, 4 Khijmatgars, 3 Musicians, 2 Scouts, 5 Kothavales (store-keepers), 2 Jamdars (wardrobe keepers), 13 Bhois (palanquin-bearers) 2 Saddlers, 1 Washerman, 2 Macebearers, 1 Leather-worker, 1 Sweeper, 2 Drummers, 4 Messengers, 1 Torch-bearer, 1 Barber, 1 Tailor, 7 Water-carriers, 2 Sunshade-bearers, 2 Trumpeters,

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[23] P. D., Vol. III, p. 183, Parasnis's Summary.

4 Mahatgadkaris (elephant drivers) 1 Potdar, and 99 Grooms. These non-combatants were paid very little by the Peshwas' government and there is reason to believe that they were not very regularly paid, for the army was always in arrears and the Peshwa and his chief officers were frequently subjected to *Dharna*, an extreme form of dunning, by the discontented soldiers.

In granting Saranjam the Peshwas took care to place rival chiefs in the same area and to make some use of their mutual jealousy. Govind Pant Bundele, the founder of the Sagar family, was used as a check on the Bhonsla of Nagpur. The revenue of Malwa was divided among the Sindhia, the Holkar and the Pawar, the Peshwa retaining a share for himself. Thus the grant of Saranjams in conquered territories stimulated the spirit of conquest, and the division of the revenue was calculated by the Peshwa to check any undue increase of the Sardars' power, and at the same time to secure co-operation by unity of interest. But the Peshwas failed to secure the last result. For Sardars like Sindhia and Holkar grew more and more powerful, and although grave national dangers rallied them to the Peshwa's side, the feudal tendency and individual jealousy ultimately led to the disruption of the empire. The Sindhia fought against the Holkar, the Bhonsla of Nagpur levied *Ghasdana* on the Peshwas' subjects, and constant war resulted in public insecurity. This was the real source of weakness of the Maratha empire.

7. *A career open to all* :

One point however should be noted here. In the Maratha army, a career was open to every man of ability, and every soldier carried a Marshal's baton in his knapsack, and many Sardars, like Napoleon's generals, rose from very low position. Says an English writer about Napoleon's Marshals, "Those men who under the Emperor are the greatest in the country have been the one a waiter, the next a wine-smuggler, the next a cooper of barrels, and the next a house painter. Those are the trades which gave us Murat, Massena, Ney and Lannes." Of the Maratha Sardars Ranoji Sindhia was the slipper-bearer of the Peshwa, Malhar Rao Holkar was a goatherd, Govindpant Bundele, a cook. Balaji Vishvanath, the founder of the Peshwa family, was a village clerk and the ancestor of the Ramdurgkars was a domestic servant. Fate Sing, Raja of Akalkot, can be regarded as a foundling. This similarity between the French army under Napoleon I and the Maratha army under the Peshwas, however, is extremely superficial. The latter lacked the solidarity and discipline that characterised the former.

Darakhdars held their hereditary office in the army of Saranjamis as a check upon them. But as the Saranjams were generally hereditary, this method proved of little effect.

8. *The Pendharis:*

The policy of the Maratha rulers accentuated the hardships of war instead of mitigating it. Over and above the regular soldiers, Pendharis in large number were allowed to accompany the army on every expedition,—in return of a tax called *Palpatti.* These Pendharis were authorised robbers, and plunder was their only profession. They shared their spoils with the government (the tax amounted to 25 p. c. of their booty) and had no consideration for their friends or fellow-countrymen. Sometimes even Hindu temples were not spared. One instance of their sacrilegious depredation will suffice. Nilkanth Appaji wrote to Bala Saheb of Miraj on the 23rd April of 1791 during the second expedition against Tipu:—"The Lamans and Pendharis of Dada Saheb's army plundered the temple of Shri Shankaracharya at Shringeri, and took elephants and other property worth several lakhs of rupees in all; and yesterday brought their spoils to a place about two miles from the camp."[23] When Shri Shankaracharya's temple was not secure from the Pendharis of the Peshwa's army, we may easily guess what little security private property of ordinary people had. The Brahmans were sometimes protected by Sardars of high position, but we do not think that their protection had much effect against these professional robbers. The Siddis of Janjira also sent "*chortas*" or authorised thieves to rob the Peshwa's subjects, and although these were ruthlessly punished when caught, the Peshwa's government could afford but little protection against depredations of the feudal army. This, and not the corruption of the Maratha officers, was the weakest point in the Maratha government. The whole situation has been so nicely summarised by Tone, that an extract from his letter will bear quotation here. "In a country such as this where revolutions are so common, the great spur to industry, that of security is taken away; the Rayat who cultivates his grounds this year, is by no means sure of possessing them the next, or if he should, it is highly probable that in a Government that holds its supremacy only by sword, some large detachment may be quartered by the neighbourhood; than which a greater blow cannot be given to industry; for a Maratha army are more indefatigable and destructive than myriads of locusts. The property of friends and enemies falls equally a prey to their indistinguishing depredations.

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[23] Khare, Aitihasik Lekha Sangraha, Vol. IX, p. 4474.

Hence it is that no man raises more than barely serves him and the produce of the year is just equivalent to its consumption."

We will again turn to the army. When wounded the men and officers were well attended to and rewarded. When killed in action, their children if of age were taken into the Peshwa's service, if minor, enjoyed a liberal pension until they should come of age and enter the army. Higher officers were encouraged by grant of Saranjam, Jaripatka, and similar honours. Some of the government "Kurans" or grasslands were set aside for the cavalry, and village artisans like the Chạmbhar, the Lohar and the Sutar were sometimes requisitioned for professional work in the cavalry. When disciplined battalions officered by Europeans came into fashion, the Peshwa also decided to maintain two battalions. These battalions or *kampus* did not lag behind their undisciplined brethren in the matter of plunder. The depredation committed by a kampu under one Dalton Saheb is mentioned in more than one letter.[328]

9. *Forts:*

The Maratha forts were in the Peshwa days of the same primitive type as in the time of Shivaji. "In the art of fortification," Blacker observes, "the Natives of India are still less advanced. In this country, it is in the same

[328] **Rajwade, Vol. X.**

state as it was in Europe before the introduction of the regular systems. Even though some judicious works have been constructed by European engineers for Indian powers, they appear to have neither imitated the example nor appreciated its superiority. They place their reliance more in a strong profile than in a judicious plan." As a consequence, impregnable as these strongholds appeared to the Indian armies, they could offer but little resistance to the superior military science of the west.

Generally, the revenue of some villages was granted for maintaining these forts and their garrison. The pay of an ordinary soldier serving in a fort was about seven Rupees and he was paid for eleven months only though he was expected to serve for twelve months. When he lived in the fort with his family, he got an extra allowance. The pay of the Sabnis, the Karkhannis, the Havaldar and the Sarnobat varied with the importance of the fort under their charge. In the year 1763-64 the Havaldar and the Sarnobat of Fort Bahula got Rs. 125 each per year while the Sabnis and the Fadnis were paid at the rate of Rs. 200; the Subhedar got Rs. 250 per year. The Havaldars of Chawand and Ahmadnagar, however, got Rs. 360 and 300 respectively.

As in the days of Shivaji no officer enjoyed undivided supreme authority in the fort. Surety was, as before, taken at the time of enlisting the garrison as well as the officers. The salary of the Karkhannis was so low that we learn from a letter of Balaji Baji Rao's time that in 1750-51 the Karkhannis of fort Trigodi found it impossible to serve on the old pay and he was replaced by a new man on a higher salary, *viz.*, Rs. 100 a year.[24]

All the important forts were furnished with some pieces of artillery, the heavy guns were cleaned once a year and the smaller pieces more frequently.[25] There was also a Darukhana or magazine as well as an Ambarkhana or granary in each fort. Old grains were sold out at intervals at the market price and new grains were stored. Towards the close of the Peshwa period the Arabs were largely employed for garrisoning the more important forts of the Maratha empire. Sir Thomas Munro tells us that some small strongholds in the Karnatak were garrisoned by hereditary servants enjoying rent-free land in lieu of their service. Their commander alone was appointed by the state, such an arrangement, it is superfluous to say, could not be conducive to discipline or efficiency.

10. The Artillery :

The artillery formed a separate department and was generally manned and officered by the

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[24] P. D., Vol. III, p. 191.

[25] P. D., Vol. III, p. 191.

Portuguese and Indian Christians. The pay of an ordinary Portuguese gunner varied from Rs. 15 to Rs. 30 per month during the administration of Balaji Baj Rao as a letter addressed to Shripat Rao Bapuji [26] in 1753-54 shows: "The following artillerymen are sent to you. They should be paid on the first day of each month at the following rate :

Joki (Joachim ?) Rs. 30.
Manik (Manuk ?) Rs. 25.
Pharasis Rudrak (Francisco Rodrigues?) Rs. 12-8.
Jacob Rujel (Rozario?) Rs. 12-8.
Malakmalkar(?) Rs. 15.
Manvel (Manoel ?) Rs. 15."

The Peshwas had their own factories for manufacturing cannons and cannon balls. Captain William Gordon writes on June 30th, 1739 : "I visited the foundry, where I saw many coehorns and bomb shells said to have been cast there, and a form of a thirteen-inch mortar. I was told they make such with great ease, and have learned the art of running iron for making shot." [27] Tone says of Sindhia's firelocks, "His are very excellent ones far superior to the ordinary European arms to be met with in the Bazars." A cannon-ball factory was established at Ambegavan near Votur in Prant

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[26] P. D., Vol. III, p. 177.

[27] Forrest, Maratha Series, Vol. I, p. 97.

Junnar in 1765-66 and a new factory was established at Poona four years later for manufacturing cannons. Unfortunately the Marathas relied mainly on the English and the Portuguese for the supply of artillery and munitions. Maratha officers were often commissioned to purchase these from Bombay [28] while the Portuguese undertook to supply the Peshwa with artilleries of the latest type.[29]

Lt. Moor was of opinion that the park of artillery was more of a source of weakness than strength to a Maratha army on march. The following account of the park of artillery from the pen of Major Dirom is of very great interest: "The park of artillery, where all their guns are collected, made an extraordinary appearance. The gun-carriages, in which they trust to the solidity of the timber, and use but little iron in their construction, are clumsy beyond belief; particularly the wheels, which are low, and formed of large solid pieces of wood united. The guns are of all sorts and dimensions; and having the names of their gods given to them, are painted in the most fantastic manner; and many of them, held in esteem for the services they are said to have already performed for the state, cannot now be dispensed with, although in every respect unfit for use. Were the guns even serviceable, the small supply of ammunition with which they are provided has always effectually prevented the Maratha artillery from being formidable to there enemies. * * On a marching day, the guns……move off soon after daylight……the guns and tumbrels, sufficiently unwieldy without further burden, are so heaped with stores and baggage that there does not seem to be any idea of its ever being necessary to unlimber, and prepare for action on the march. As there are no pioneers attached to the Maratha artillery to repair the roads, this deficiency is compensated by an additional number of cattle, there being sometimes a hundred or a hundred and fifty bullocks, in a string of pairs to one gun."[30] The European officers who saw the Maratha artillery in operation had all of them a very poor opinion of the men who served it.

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[28] P. D.

[29] Biker.

The artillery department had also its contingent of Darakhdars as the Sabnis and the Fadnis for its account and clerical work.

Space will not permit a more detailed treatment of the Maratha military system here, but it will not be out of place to take note of one significant change in the character of the Maratha leaders. They were no longer the hardy simple warriors who could rightly call the saddle their home. When Shivaji led his army to the Carnatak he had with him only two rough small tents, one for himself and the other for his ministers. But the Maratha chiefs who accompanied Sadashiv Rao to the fatal field of Panipat needed like the Mughal officers of Aurangzib costly tents, splendid equipments and comforts and luxuries of all sorts. Even the followers of the homeless Raghoba could not do without a certain amount of pomp and splendour. Forbes writes—"The Maratha cavaliers of distinction frequently ornament their saddles with the bushy tails of the Thibet cows, as also the horse's head. On one side an attendant carries a rich umbrella, called an aftaphgere, generally of velvet, embroidered with gold; on the other, is a man with a large fan, or chouree, formed of the tail of the wild cow from Thibet, covered with long flowing hair, delicately white, and soft as silk: the handle is gold or silver, sometimes studded with jewels......... The cruppers, martingales and bridles of the horses, are ornamented, according to the rank and wealth of the owner, with gold or silver plates, knobs, coins, and a variety of decorations: the tails of the grey horses are frequently dyed of a red and orange colour, and the manes plaited with silk and ribbands, interspersed with silver roses:...... The great men have also servants with gold and silver staves of rich workmanship running before them, called chopdars and assaburdars: a sort of heralds, who sing their praises, and proclaim their titles in the hyperbolic style of the east:... The magnificence of the Indian tents, pavilions, and summinianas, or canopy far exceeds anything of the kind in Europe...... The Mahrattas seem to prefer their tents to houses, and enjoy more pleasure in a camp than a city."[81]

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[30] Dirom, A Narrative of the Campaign in India, 1792, pp. 11-12.

Shivaji could not countenance the introduction of women into the camp on any account, and he had made it a capital offence. But in the Peshwa days not only the feudal chiefs but even the ordinary horsemen were accompanied by their womenfolk and dancing girls, jugglers and fakirs all flocked to the Maratha camp as a good place of business. Lt. Moor writes, "The number of women with this army (Parsharam Bhau Patwardhan's) could they be at all accurately computed, would not be believed; our estimate so far exceeds the bounds of probability, at least strangers would deem it so, that we are afraid to give it."[82] In the market place or camp bazar not only necessaries of life but commodities of all descriptions found customers. "Raghoba's encampment" Forbes informs us, "covered a space of many square miles; the bazar or market place, belonging to his own division, and to the principal generals, contained many thousand tents, where every trade and profession was carried on with as much regularity as in a city. Goldsmiths, jewellers, bankers, drapers, druggists, confectioners, carpenters, tailors, tent-makers, corn-grinders, and farriers, found employments; as did whole rows of silver, iron, and copper smiths;"[38] the bazar did not lack wine-stalls as we learn from Broughton, and votaries of Comus had no grievance. It is needless to say that the non-combatants in a Maratha army far exceeded the combatants.

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[81] Forbes, Oriental Memoirs, Vol. II. pp. 41-44.

[82] Moor, Little's Detachment, p. 29.

The army was further encumbered by a large number of animals, deemed unnecessary in Shivaji's time. "The number and variety of cattle necessarily attendant on an Asiatic army is astonishing;" writes a European eye-witness, "there were at least two hundred thousand in the Maratha camp of every description; the expense of feeding these animals, as also the difficulty of procuring provender, is very great; and their distress for water in a parched country and sultry climate, often fatal. Exclusive of the Mahratta cavalry trained to war, were many thousand horses belonging to the camp-followers; the bazar alone required twenty thousand bullocks to convey the commodities of the shop-keepers, besides a number of small horses and asses. Some thousand camels were employed to carry the tents and baggage; but

[38] Forbes, Oriental Memoirs, Vol. II, p. 48.

the elephants, proud of their distinguished elevation, were appropriated to some honourable service, or covered with caparisons of embroidered velvets and scarlet cloth, decorated with gold and silver fringe, were destined to carry the houdahs of Ragobah and his chief officers with majestic pace to join the princely retinue on state occasions." [34]

This vast horde of men, women, children and cattle relied for a steady and regular supply of grains on the Brinjaras, a hardy tribe of nomads and brave carriers who plied the double trade of plunderers and corn-dealers. They did not hesitate to procure their merchandise by force when it could not be obtained by honourable purchase and were always prepared to take an active part in the military operations of their warlike customers.

It is needless to say that the vast feudal army of the Peshwas could not be mobilised at a moment's notice. The Feudal chiefs were scattered all over the empire, and when an urgent summons reached them they were not always able to hasten to the Peshwa's standard. Ambitious and powerful chiefs like the Sindhia found it necessary to maintain a big army, but the lesser barons found it profitable to employ in times of peace as few horsemen as possible. The Peshwa, moreover, was unable to finance a military expedition and the feudal chiefs had to find money for themselves. It appears that very few Maratha chiefs had a surplus or reserve fund to fall upon and on such occasions they had to rely on moneylenders. It is on this account that rich bankers like Gokul Parekh could rise to the position of Daulat Rao Sindhia's principal minister.[35] When the war was over the Peshwa's government had to grant fresh Jagirs to the feudal chief to pay off the debt he had incurred in the service of the state. This however led to numerous and interminable altercations between the feudal Barons and the audit officers of the Peshwa. The ultimate result was invariably an addition to the feudal chief's Jagir and consequent increase of his power. The process went on till in the closing years of the Maratha empire, the ruling Peshwa had very little power or prestige left. The personal defects of the last Peshwa did to a certain extent contribute to this result, but it was not a little due to the inherent defects of the system.

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[34] Forbes, Oriental Memoirs, Vol. II, p. 54.

11. Postal System and Military Intelligence :

There was no regular postal department under the Peshwas. The work of military intelligence and what postal work there was, were entrusted to *Jasuds* and *Harkaras*. They were not only good runners, but intelligent men, well acquainted with roads, resourceful and brave. While on duty, public officers in villages on their way were expected to help them in their journey; and sometimes letters to that effect were addressed to the Patil and the Kulkarni. Major Broughton, a hostile critic, is very eloquent in his praise of the Harkaras. "These. Hirkuras," says he, "are a most active and useful set of men: their business is to obtain information, to act as guides, and convey letters or messages: they are always well acquainted with the country, its roads, passes through hills or across rivers; and are so generally useful, that, like the ancient heralds, they are looked upon as privileged, and allowed to pass unmolested where other travellers would be in the utmost danger. They are often sent to great distances, and are absent for many months; when they must necessarily be subjected to the greatest hardships, in a country where there are no inns, and when the inhabitants of many provinces subsist entirely by plunder." Sometimes the Jasuds were paid at the high rate of Rs. 3 per day, they were known to cover the whole distance from Maheshwar to Delhi in thirteen days.

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[35] Imperial Records Nomenclature, 1814, Vol. 129, p. 107.

12. Education:

Like the postal department, the Peshwas did not organise any department of public instruction. Learning was indirectly encouraged by Dakshana grants to scholars. Originally instituted by the Dabhades, this system was continued by the Peshwas after the fall of that family. Scholars from all parts of India were attracted to Poona by this money reward, and the metropolis of the Peshwas soon became distinguished as a great seat of, Sanskrit learning. Misuse of such a system however was bound to set in, and what was originally meant for scholars alone, was extended to Brahmans in general. Peshwa Madhava Rao I tried to put a check to indiscriminate distribution of Dakshana. Scott Waring says, "In the reign of the great Peshwa Madhava Rao it was ordained that the learned Pandits and Shastries should undergo an examination at the palace by the Head Pandit and should there receive gifts proportionate to their qualifications and knowledge." The last Peshwa Baji Rao II spent about four lakhs of Rupees annually in Dakshana grants. In his time indolent Brahmans, and professional beggars of that caste, again began to take a share in the Dakshana. After the annexation of the Peshwa's territories to the British dominions, Mr. Elphinstone maintained a Pathshala for imparting Sanskrit learning at Poona out of the Dakshana grant. The Pathshala no longer exists, but the grant still survives in the form of Dakshana fellowships in certain Colleges of the Bombay Presidency.

13. Library:

The Peshwas tried to procure old manuscripts for their library and get others copied. In the year 1747-48, Balaji Baji Rao procured no less than thirty-six manuscripts of religious books from Udaipur.[36] He also bought fifteen other manuscripts in 1755-66.[37] In 1765-66, the first Madhava Rao granted a monthly expenditure of Rs. 31 for an establishment for making copies of old books.[38]

14. Medicine:

The study of medicine was encouraged by grants of Inam lands to eminent physicians. They were further encouraged to distribute medicine gratis. No distinction of caste and creed was in this respect made. Among the grantees, we find mention of Hindu and Muhammadan physicians and of a Portuguese Missionary doctor.[39] It appears that physicians also got an annual Dakshana.[40]

In some respects the administrative institutions of the Peshwas were certainly as good as those of contemporary Europe; in other respects better. The temperance measures of the Peshwas were so successful that Wellington had to lay special stress on the necessity for making special arrangements for the supply of wine in a future Maratha campaign, in his Despatches. The soundness of their currency policy can also be proved by an extract from Wellington's Despatches. The attitude of the Maratha government towards the currency of the country was almost neutral; the English government tried to fix an exchange rate, and the result was described by Wellington as follows: "Much inconvenience has been occasioned in the general and regimental Bazars in consequence of the orders of Government of the 27th December relating to the exchange of money. This morning (3rd January, 1799), only one Shroff appeared in camp, and all the business of the Bazars was stopped." The Maratha officers, so much condemned by European writers for corrupt practices, were perhaps not much worse than the European officers in the Company's service. In Wellington's Despatches alone, we find that a Captain and a Lieutenant-Colonel were charged with and convicted of committing embezzlement; a Lieutenant was found guilty of purchasing a stolen horse; and two Lieutenants were convicted of committing violence in the Bazar.[41]

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[36] P. D., Vol. II, pp. 199-201.

[37] P. D., Vol. II, p. 207.

[38] P. D., Vol. VII, pp. 328-329.

[39] P. D., Vol. II, pp. 129-134.

[40] Peshwanchi Bakhar, p. 55.

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[41] Also compare the following account of Portuguese misrule in San Thome (Manucci Storia Do Mogoar, ed. Irvine, Vol. III, p. 125):—

It is patent to everybody that when the Portuguese were masters of this town (S. Thome) there were in it many oppression and much injustice. They slew one another; they dug and fortified trenches in

If we take into consideration the large sums sent home by Clive and his contemporaries, the Maratha officers' guilt will possibly appear lighter in comparison.

We have already seen that the administration of revenue and justice was as efficient under the Peshwas as in contemporary England, and their spirit of toleration specially claims our notice. While in England the Roman Catholic Emancipation Act was not passed before 1829, and measures for the relief of the Jews were not taken till 1858, the Maratha rulers had accorded equal treatment to their subjects of all religions and creeds. The Muhammadans were not only eligible for high posts of the State, but hereditary Muhammadan officers like the Kazis were appointed for the benefit of their community. Not only were the old grants made by former Muhammadan kings in favour of their mosques and holy saints continued, but new Inams were granted by the Maratha rulers. In one case we actually find that the Muhammadans were allowed to pay *Hashil* at half the usual rate levied upon the Hindus.[42] But inspite

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the streets, furnishing them with cannon. Both sides had their rendezvous, and spent much money in maintaining soldiers. If any one passed carelessly down the street, they shot at him with their matchlocks. They obtained reward for their evil deeds, paying no respect even to the Holy of Holies, shooting down men during religious processions. (Other horrible details follow.)

[42] P. D., Vol. III, pp. 316-319. It cannot however be asserted that no offence was ever offered to Muhammadans. Sadashiv Rao Bhau, it is

of these liberal ideas we cannot say that the Peshwa's government was better than that of contemporary England, while the people under the latter enjoyed security of life and property, the territories under the former specially suffered from a lack of it. This, we have seen, was the result of Feudalism. The Peshwas instead of checking the growth of Feudalism considerably helped its progress and development.

Instead of maintaining a strong army, independent of the feudal forces, the Peshwas became more and more dependent on the Sardars. New fiefs were granted even in the neighbourhood of Poona, and new families like the Patwardhans, the Rastias, the Vinchurkars, and the Phadkes rose in power. Even Nana Fadnavis depended on these feudal Barons for military help. These chiefs, however, were not more faithful to their master than the more powerful and older Sardars like Sindhia and Holkar. In a Despatch, dated the 19th of November, 1799, Wellington says that southern Maratha chiefs including the son of Parashram Bhau sent *Wakils* to him and to the English Agent of Mysore offering to subsidise a British force. This independent spirit was further evinced in the final struggle of the Peshwa with the English. He had made himself unpopular

alleged, demolished mosques at Nasik and built temples with their materials. Peshwanchi Bakhar, p. 52.

with the common Rayats by farming revenue and with many of the feudal nobles by confiscating their *Jagir*. They, therefore, did not stand by their ruler and chief as faithfully as they ought to have done, and Baji Rao Raghunath fell "unhonoured" "unwept" and cursed in songs.

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APPENDICES TO BOOKS I AND II

A

War-Rockets.

"The war-rockets used by the Mahrattas, which very often annoyed us, is composed of an iron tube, eight or ten inches long, and near two inches in diameter; this destructive weapon is sometimes fixed to a rod of iron, sometimes to a straight two-edged sword, but most commonly to a strong bamboo cane, four or five feet long, with an iron spike projecting beyond the tube: to this rod, or staff, the tube filled with combustible materials is fastened, and on the lighted match setting fire to the fuse, is projected with great velocity; if well directed, which is an uncertain operation, it causes much confusion and dismay among the enemy, from the difficulty of avoiding its terrifying and destructive effects." Forbes, *Oriental Memoirs* (London, 1813), Vol. II, p. 63. Also see William Irvine, *The Army of the Indian Moghuls,* pp. 147-150.

B

Stone as a weapon of Defence.

The use of stone as a weapon of defence was by no means confined to Southern India and to Shivaji's times. Fitzclarence found heaps of stones near forts in the Deccan during the Pendhari war and Munro's soldiers were assailed with stones when they attempted to storm Chunar as the following extract shows:

"Our men at first marched up the hill with the greatest resolution, but large stones which the enemy rolled out of the breach, and on each side of it threw them so often down, and rolled them back again by twenties at a time. What with their endeavours to clamber up so steep a rock, and their being so often tumbled back by large stones rolled down upon them, our people were at last so fatigued, that they were obliged to give it up." Caraccioli, quoted by Sir G. W. Forrest, *The Life of Lord Clive*, Vol. II, p. 273.

C

The Raja of Satara.

Fitzclarence has very aptly compared the Raja of Satara with the *rois faineants* of France, and the Peshwas with the Mayors of Palace.

He says, "In both cases the son of the usurper, being a man of equal abilities to his father, continued to exercise the functions of government, till by degrees the people became accustomed to the rule of an imprisoned monarch, whose authority was exercised by the minister. But the farce of appearing to act under the orders of the Rajah of Satarah, a descendant of the family of Sevajee, has been always kept up the new Peishwa nominally receiving from the rajah the khelaut, or dress of honour, appointing him to the situation." Fitzclarence, *Journal*, pp. 285-286.

It appears that both in Northern and Central India the Maratha conquerors always took care to keep intact the authority of the old rulers in form and apparently governed the conquered country as their representatives. Jenkins writes of the Bhonsla rulers of Nagpur. "The Booslah family then, as we have seen, founds its rights to the Government of Deogurh, on treaty with its original possessors, and it still allows the title of Rajah to the Gond princes, with a commutation for the original share of the revenue of the country, as it stood, at the period of the conquest, and with the privilege of receiving it through their own officers; whilst the observances due to the ancient proprietors of the state, are carefully and even ostentatiously adhered. The Gond

Rajah gives the *Teeka*, or mark of royalty, to the Booslah princes, on their accession to the Gadee, and he is entitled to put his seal to certain revenue papers. These circumstances, though indicating a nominal partition of the sovereign dignity, do not however detract to any practical purpose, from the political independence of the Booslah Rajahs of Nagpore. In all foreign transactions, they were constituted by the Gond prince, the only channel of intercourse with other states." *Report on the Territories of the Rajah of Nagpore*, pp. 140-141.

D

Reception of the Angria.

How the Angrias were received by the Peshwa can be very well guessed from the following description of Lord Valentia's reception by Peshwa's servants:

"At a little distance I halted, and the Colonel went on. A carpet was spread on the plain: the deputation alighted, and after a few minutes, I advanced. We met on the carpet. Each person was presented separately to me by the Colonel, and embraced; we then seated ourselves without chairs on cushions." *Voyages and Travels*, by George, Viscount Valentia, London, 1811, Vol. II, p. 102.

E

Character of Maratha Peasants.

"The most remarkable feature, perhaps, in the character of the Mahrattas, of all descriptions, is the little regard they pay to show or ceremony in the common intercourse of life. A peasant or mechanic, of the lowest order, appearing before his superiors, will sit down of his own accord, tell his story without ceremony, and converse more like an equal than an inferior; and if he has a petition to present, he talks in a loud and boisterous tone, and fearlessly sets forth his claims." Jenkins' *Report*, p. 54.

"The great body of the Mahratta people are a very peaceable and simple peasantry, of frugal habits, and gentle dispositions; there seems to be no district in India, of equal extent and population, where so few crimes are committed, and of the robberies and murders which really occur the greatest part by far are the work of the Bheels, who on these mountains as well as in Central India, maintain a precarious and sanguinary independence, and are found less accessible to such means of conciliation as have yet been tried with them, than any of their more northern kindred." *Narrative of a Journey*, Reginald Heber, Second Edition, Vol. III, p. 122.

F

Gaon Khandi.

This tax, Prof. Pissurlencar informs me, is still paid in some villages of Portuguese India. But what is still more interesting is that Prof. Pissurlencar finds from some entries in the *Livros dos Reis Visinhos* that Gaon Khandi was exacted from some villages in the District of Daman by Moro Pingle, Shivaji's Peshwa, in the years 1676, 1677 and 1678.

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BOOK III

EVOLUTION OF THE MARATHA INSTITUTIONS

THE ANCIENT HERITAGE

[illegible]

CHAPTER I

COUNCIL AND STATE DEPARTMENTS

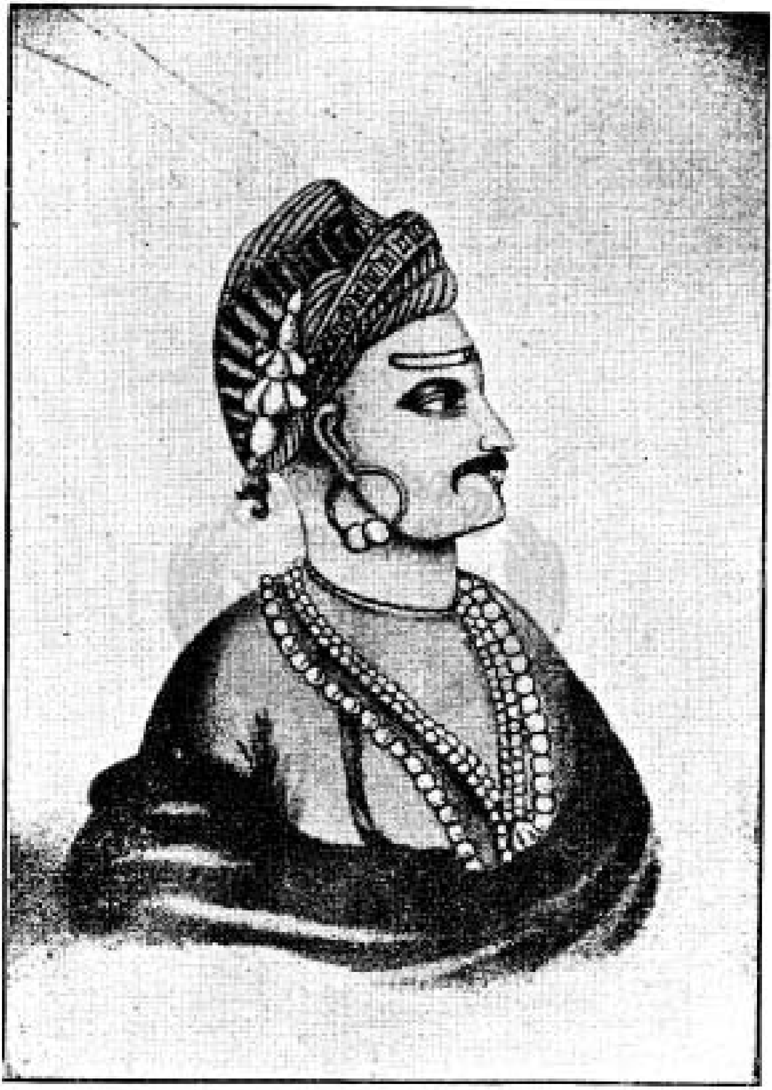
1. Muhammadan conquerors not hostile to the indigenous institutions :

Before the formidable onslaught of Islam the old Hindu monarchies of Northern India disappeared one after another ; but the new rulers did not interfere much with the administrative institutions of Hindusthan. The Arab rulers had formerly employed Christians and Jews for revenue work in Syria and Palestine, the Iranians in Persia had been employed for similar work by their Muslim conquerors, after the fall of their national monarchy, and Muhammad bin Kasim, the first and the only Arab conqueror of an Indian province, not only employed Brahman officers for revenue collection in Sind, but allowed Brahman scholars and Brahman priests to enjoy without bar or hindrance the rent-free lands granted by their former Hindu rulers, and to continue their ancient form of worship in their sacred temples. The Muhammadan conquerors who followed him were not of Arab extraction, but they inherited from the Arabs, their traditional policy and culture along with their faith. Moreover their number did not allow them to dispense with the services of the natives of the land, and while the Hindu monarchies disappeared the Hindu institutions survived.

A century passed ere a Muhammadan general led his conquering forces across the Vindhyas, but neither he nor his immediate successors could establish their permanent sway over the Deccan. The simultaneous establishment of a Muhammadan monarchy, that depended not a little on the loyalty of its Hindu subjects against the hostility of the Muhammadan Emperors of Delhi, and the Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar, contributed largely to the vitality of the indigenous institutions and they were allowed to flourish undisturbed not only in the autonomous village republics but also in the courts of independent or semi-independent Hindu chiefs who found a safe retreat in the impregnable hill forts of their native land. The old institutions therefore continued to exist under the Muhammadan rulers and so powerfully did they influence the administrative policy of Muslim kings that even the most careless comparison will be enough to establish beyond doubt the close affinity between the revenue regulations of Tipu Sultan of Mysore, a zealous follower of the Prophet of Mecca, and those of the Peshwas, the Brahman defenders of the Hindu faith. This was no mere accident, for if we compare the regulations set forth in the Hukumnamas of Coorg with the regulations of Tipu, the same resemblance will be evident. Our western critics will perhaps discover in this only another instance of the immobility of the unchanging East. But in which country, civilised or uncivilised, have old institutions completely died out? The national system of administration in every land has its root in the distant past, and such was also the case with the administrative institutions of the Peshwas. They have not been however mere blind imitators, they did not surrender their right of criticism when they turned for guidance to the old Shastras, but theirs was a work of reform as well as of conservation. Few rulers of course could, like Shivaji and the first Madhava Rao, shake off the superstitious veneration of their times and abolish the time-honoured customs that were either unjust or oppressive. But such reforms were from time to time effected and the Hindu system of government continued in the Bombay Presidency till the British conquest in 1818. Before the Marathas succumbed to their western rival, we find in their empire the same judicial system still in existence that prevailed in the days of Manu and Yajnavalkya, Narada and Brihaspati, Vishnu and Shukracharya; the same principle of revenue administration still in operation that had been advocated by the celebrated Kautilya three hundred years before Christ, the same village communities still flourishing that existed in the days of the great Buddha.

2. *Council of Ministers :*

Before the foundation of the national monarchy, or as Sabhasad styles it, a 'Maratha Padshahi,' Maharashtra had been conquered by the Muhammadans. When Shivaji was enthroned at Raigad with all the pomp of a Hindu *abhisheka*, he positively committed himself not only to the policy of conservation of all the Hindu institutions that might still be in existence, but also to a policy of revival. The immediate result was the reorganisation of his cabinet or council, well-known as the Ashta Pradhan Council, and there is a tradition that he was guided in this work by the old Shastras in general and the Shukranitisara or the polity of Shukracharya in particular. But the Shukraniti is not the only work on polity to advocate the appointment of a council. The step has been commended by all political thinkers of old, though they were not quite unanimous about the number of councillors. Kautilya says, "According to the school of Manu the assembly of ministers shall be made to consist of twelve



Baji Rao Raghunath

members; the school of Brihaspati say that it shall consist of sixteen members; the school of Ushanas say that it shall consist of twenty members." But Kautilya himself recommends that the number should be regulated by the needs of the State.[1] Bhishma[2] held that the king should always consult eight principal ministers, four of whom should be Brahmans, three Kshatriyas and one Suta. In the preceding chapter of the Mahabharata, he is made to say that the king should appoint at least three ministers. According to Manu there should be "seven or eight ministers, whose ancestors have been royal servants, who are versed in the sciences, heroes skilled in the use of weapons and descended from noble families and who have been tried."[3] But although we get the number eight in the Mahabharata and the Manu-Samhita there is very good reason to believe that the tradition, we have already referred to, was not altogether without a basis. The author of the Shukraniti, it is true, recommends that there should be ten councillors in all,[4] *vis.*, the Purodha or priest, Pratinidhi or viceroy, Pradhana, Sachiva, Mantri, Pandit, Pradvivaka or Chief Justice, Amatya, Sumantraka and Duta or envoy, but as Kautilya suggested there was perhaps no hard and fast rule about it for the Shukranitisara itself suggests a council of eight also. If we exclude the Pratinidhi from the second list of the Shukraniti and include in it the Commander-in-chief, we get the Ashta Pradhan Council of Shivaji that consisted of the Mukhya Pradhan or the Prime Minister, the Amatya, the Mantri, the Sumanta, the Sachiv, the Pandit-Rao or Royal Priest, the Senapati or Commander-in-chief and the Nyayadhish or the Chief Justice. The post of Pratinidhi was subsequently created by the second son of Shivaji and that minister had also a seat in the council and the council of eight was thus transformed into a council of nine within a few years of Shivaji's death.[5]

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[1] Kautilya's Arthashastra, pp. 32 and 33.

[2] Mahabharata, Santi Parva, Ch. 85.

[3] Manu, vii, 54; S. B. E., p. 224.

[4] Shukra Niti; S. B. H., pp. 68-71.

This similarity in the number and designation of councillors is by no means the only evidence in favour of the tradition. In a *Kanu Jabta* drawn up in the year one of the *Rajyabhisheka* era (published by Rao Bahadur Kashinath Narayan Sane), we find that on every paper, letter, and sanad issued from a state department, these eight Pradhans had to put their signature to indicate their approval, and if we compare this regulation with the following in the Shukraniti, "the Mantri, Chief Justice, learned adviser as well as the ambassador should write: 'This document has been written with my consent'; the Amatya should write: 'Well written is this,' the Sumantra then should write: 'Well considered'; and the Priest is to write: 'Approved,'"[6] we have very little doubt that for this particular regulation at least Shivaji was indebted to the sage of the Shukranitisara. But it will be a mistake to suppose that Shivaji's Ashta Pradhan Council was nothing but an imitation of Shukracharya's institution. According to Shukra, "the priest is superior to all others—the mainstay of king and kingdom, the viceroy comes next, next the premier, then the Sachiva, then the minister, next the Justice, then the scholar, next comes Sumantra, then the Amatya, lastly the spy."[7] Nor was he by any means the only political thinker to allot the first place in the State to the priest, the author of the Mahabharata also upholds the same view and in support relates the story of king Muchukunda who inflicted a defeat on Kuvera,[8] the semi-divine king of the Yakshas, mainly by the magical powers of his family priest, the sage Vashishtha. But in Shivaji's Council the priest was relegated to the last place save one, while to the prime minister and the Senapati were allotted the first seats on the right and left of their sovereign. Nor was this the only difference. Although the same designations were retained by Shivaji, the duties assigned to his ministers were by no means identical with those appertaining to those very offices according to the Shukraniti. The Pradhan or prime minister had indeed like the Peshwa, a general supervision of all state affairs, but the Sachiva of the Shukraniti was the war minister, while the Sachiva of Shivaji was in charge of royal correspondence. Similarly the Amatya of Shivaji was his finance minister while his namesake of Shukracharya's time had the charge of land revenue. Shivaji's Sumanta held the portfolio of foreign affairs, while the old Sumantra was at the head of the finance department. Shivaji had not therefore revived the *Mantri Parisad* or council of the Hindu political philosophers in all its details. The tradition of such councils had perhaps survived in the courts of the semi-independent Maratha chiefs, for Maharashtra had never been thoroughly conquered by the Muhammadans. Or perhaps the institutions still existed in the small principalities of the south, the off-shoots of the once great Vijayanagar kingdom. What we regard as a revival might have been really a case of slow evolution for aught we know. The process came to a sudden stop when the East was brought into forced contact with the West.

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[5] I acknowledge my indebtedness to Mr. T. S. Shejaval Karve here for drawing my attention to the original text of the Shukranitisara.

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[6] Shukra Niti, S. B. H., p. 97.

[7] Shukra Niti, S. B. H., pp. 68-69.

[8] Shanti Parva, Chs. 73 and 74.

3. *Private Secretary:*

Every ruler needs reliable private secretaries and confidential clerks. Shivaji's Chitnis, Balaji Avji, was however more than a mere scribe. His counsel was sought on every question of weight and Malhar Ram Rao tells us that Shivaji had offered him a seat in his council. Bala Prabhu was not the only Lekhaka, there was another, his brother Nilo Prabhu. Expediency alone might have demanded the creation of these posts, but it is interesting to note that Malhar Rao should speak about the nature of their official duties almost in the same strain as Kautilya did in the 4th century B. C. while describing the work of the Lekhaka of his time. It is also worth noticing, that Kautilya should deem it necessary for the Lekhaka to possess ministerial qualifications. Says the great Mauryan statesman, "One who is possessed of ministerial qualifications, acquainted with all kinds of customs, smart in composition, good in legible writing, and sharp in reading shall be appointed as a writer (Lekhaka). Such a writer, having attentively listened to the king's order and having well thought out the matter under consideration, shall reduce the order to writing."[84] Do we not hear an echo of the above when

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[84] Kautilya, p. 80.

Malhar Ram Rao Chitnis tells us : "The Chitnis Patra Lekhaka should write all royal correspondence and diplomatic notes. He should divine what is there in the king's mind and in various ways should cleverly put it into writing at once."[9]

4: *State Departments :*

Let us now turn to the eighteen Karkhanas and twelve Mahals, which Shivaji found it necessary to organise for administrative purposes.

These were[10] :

The eighteen Karkhanas :

1.	Khajina	...	Cash.
2.	Jawahir Khana	...	Jewellery
3.	Ambar Khana	...	Grannary.
4.	Sharbat Khana	...	Medicines.
5.	Toph Khana	...	Artillery Stores.
6.	Daphtar Khana	...	Record Departments.
7.	Jamadar Khana	...	Public Treasury
8.	Jirat Khana	...	Agriculture.
9.	Mudbakh Khana	...	Kitchen.

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[9] Chitnis, p. 168.

[10] Sabhasad, pp. 94-95. These names are here repeated for the convenience of the reader.

10.	Ushtar Khana ...	Camels and their-trappings.
11.	Nagar Khana ...	Band and music
12.	Talim Khana ...	Gymnasium.
13.	Pilkhana ...	Elephant sheds, etc.
14.	Faras Khana ...	Carpets and accessories.
15.	Abdarkhana ...	Drinks.
16.	Shikar Khana ...	Games, aviary, chase and allied materials.
17.	Daru Khana ...	Magazine.
18.	Shahat Khana ...	Conservancy Department.

The twelve Mahals :

1.	Pote	The Treasury.
2.	Saudagir ...	Merchandise.
3.	Palkhi	Palanquin.
4.	Kothi	Store house.
5.	Imarat	Building.
6.	Bahili	Chariots.
7.	Paga	Stables.
8.	Seri	Comforts.
9.	Daruni... ...	The Zenana.
10.	Thatti	Cowsheds.
11.	Tankasal ...	Mints.
12.	Sabina... ...	Guards.

Some of these departments were doubtless unknown to the old Hindus. Artillery did not come into existence in Kautilya's time and he could not therefore think of a Superintendent of Tophkhana or a Superintendent of Darukhana. But many of the other departments were well known in India before the Muhammadan conquest, or as a matter of fact before the birth of Chirst. The Shukraniti recommends that the king should appoint separately the heads of elephants, horses, chariots, infantry, cattles, camels, deer, birds gold, jewels, silver, clothes, the chief of treasure, the chief of grains, and the superintendent of cooking, the superintendent of parks, and the head of buildings and palaces, as also always the superintendent of the necessaries and contigencies, the officers in charge of the religious establishments and the superintendent of charities.[11] The compiler of the present text of the Shukraniti was acquainted with fire-arms (Nalika), and it may be objected therefore that it is a comparatively recent work. But the antiquity of Kautilya's Arthashastra is fairly well admitted and Kautilya has recounted the duties of superintendents of no less than twenty departments at least ten of which survived till Shivaji's time, while others left undeniable marks in the institutions of the

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[11] Shukraniti, S. B. H., p. 75.

Peshwa period. Kautilya has laid down rules for examination of gems that are to be entered into the treasury; the treasury contemplated by him therefore corresponded to Shivaji's Jawahir Khana. Kautilya recounts the duties of the Superintendents of Store-house, Commerce, Armoury, Agriculture, Liquor, Cows, Horses, Elephants and Chariots, and we find these departments also in the list quoted above from Sabhasad. These departments however did not form the only link with the past.

കേരള സാഹിത്യ അക്കാദമി

CHAPTER II

TOWN PLANNING

1. *Site of the Metropolis :*

Let us turn to Shivaji's capital. His *abhisheka* or coronation was celebrated in an impregnable hill-fort, where he could with impunity defy his enemies to do their worst, for aircraft was still undreamt of in Aurangzib's time except in nursery tales, and contemporary European writers tell us that the defenders of Raigad could easily repulse their assailants by rolling down huge pieces of stone only. It was in such an impregnable fort, well protected by a strong wall, ditch and arms, that the sage of the Mahabharata advised the king to establish his capital. [1] Manu has also counselled that the king should build his capital town, "making for his safety a fortress, protected by a desert, or a fortress built of (stone and earth), or one protected by water or trees, or one (formed by an encampment of armed) men or a hill-fort." [2]

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[1] Santi Parva, ch., 86.

[2] Manu, VII, 70, S. B. E., p. 227.

2. *Town Planning :*

But we need not lay too much emphasis on this coincidence. It was a matter of common prudence, and one so able and shrewd as Shivaji did not want the injunctions of the Mahabharata, or the Manu Samhita, to see that his capital should be well-fortified, well-protected, well-provisioned and favourably situated on an inaccessible rock, within a convenient distance from the sea. But the buildings and quarters of his newly founded metropolis were not unconnected with the past and will well repay our attention. We can profitably turn to his son's court historian, Krishnaji Ananta Sabhasad for necessary information on this head. According to him Shivaji had built in the fortress of Rairi not only palaces for his queens, separate quarters for the Sarkarkuns and Commanders of five thousand and men of note, council-hall building and market, but also stables for elephants, horses and camels, sheds for palanquins, chariots, and cattle and a store-house. "The palace is to be in the midst of the council-buildings," Shukracharya tells us, "and it, must have stables for elephants, horses and cattle."[3] He further recommends that "dwelling houses for ministers, clerks, and members of council and officers should be built separately to the north and east." "The wise king should provide for the house of the people in order of wealth and birth near his palace in all directions."[4] It is remarkable that, while recounting the buildings to be constructed within a fort, Kautilya mentions among others, the royal kitchen, elephant-stables, the store-house, the treasury, the accountant's office, the store-house for forest produce, the arsenal, stables for asses and camels, stables for conveyances and chariots, shops and hospitals, stables for cows and horses, and quarters for the superintendents of the city, of commerce, of manufactories, and of the army. But this was not all. Raigad will bear a detailed comparison with the ideal fort of Kautilya and the ideal metropolis of the Shukraniti.

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[3] Shukraniti, S. B. H., p. 29.

Raigad was capital of the Maratha kingdom for sixteen years only and had to stand a siege of eleven days in 1818, when many of the houses and public buildings were badly damaged. Since then it has been suffered to fall into ruins and to-day it is deemed quite uninhabitable. But still there is no scarcity of ponds and cisterns in the ruined city, two of which, the Ganga Sagar and the Kushavarta tank, are fairly large. This naturally reminds one of Shukracharya's injunction-that the capital

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[4] Shukraniti, S. B. H., p. 33.

"must ever be provided with wells, tanks and pools."[5] It is not easy to establish the identity of all the ruined buildings, but in the map published in the Bombay Gazetteer[6] we find that the ministers' quarters and the bazar were situated to the north-east, there were two store-houses to the south and the south-east, and the Mahadeva temple stood far to the north of the palace and around the temple were the dancing girls' quarters. Within two hundred yards of the Rang Mahal or palace of pleasure, to the north of it, stood the citadel and the powder magazines were built near the Shrigonda point to the east. To the north-west of the palaces were the elephant-stables. According to Shukra, "houses should be built towards the west for cows, deer, camels, elephants and other animals"[7] "Dwelling houses for ministers, clerks, members of the council and officers should be built separately to the north or east. Leaving a space of 100 cubits towards the north and 200 cubits towards the east of the palace, military cantonments are to be laid out."[8] Kautilya observes that "royal teachers, priests, sacrificial place, water reservoir and ministers shall occupy sites east by north to the palace; to the north by west shops and hospitals; to the north the royal tutelary deity of the city."[*] It is not easy to dismiss this resemblance as a chance coincidence. The more logical inference is that these conventional rules of town-planning have been transmitted from generation to generation, and the plan of Raigad had been evolved from one that was in fashion in Northern India more than three centuries before Christ.

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[5] Shukra Niti, S. B. H., p. 29.

[6] Vol. XI, p. 357.

[7] S. B H., p. 30.

[8] Shukra Niti, S. B. H., p. 38.

Thus it is clear that not only was his cabinet modelled on the Mantri Parisads of old, but his secretaries, his eighteen Karkhanas, and twelve Mahals, and even the palaces, council-halls, the officers' quarters, and other buildings of Shivaji's capital formed a link between the Maharashtra of the 17th century A. D. and Mauryan Aryavarta of the 4th century B. C. But these were by no means the only old institutions, others could boast of an antiquity equally remote and could tell a story of slow evolution and gradual adaptation that would interest all students of Comparative Politics.

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[*] Kautilya, Arthashastra, p. 61.

It may be incidentally noted that according to Kautilya, elephant stables should be situated on sites east by south. Shivaji had therefore more closely followed the plan described in the Shukraniti than that of any other work on polity.

CHAPTER III

VILLAGE COMMUNITIES

1. Their Antiquity:

In Shivaji's time as well as under the Peshwas, the villages of Maharashtra were so many States within the State, self-contained and isolated. The head of the state was a despot, helped, but by no means controlled, by a council. The villages at the base were linked by a chain of royal officers with the supreme government. Such had also been the case in the past. We read in the Vishnu Samhita that the king should "appoint chiefs in every village; also lords of every ten villages; lords of hundred villages and lords of a whole district."[1] The Mahabharata mentions lords of a single village, lords of ten villages, lords of twenty villages, lords of hundred villages and lords of thousand villages.[2] We find the same division in Manu also: "let him (the king) appoint a lord over (each) village, as well as lords of ten villages, lords of twenty villages, lords of a hundred, and lords of a thousand.'[3] This division no longer prevailed in Shivaji's time, it had been replaced long before him by one more simple and convenient. Single villages still formed the administrative unit, but divisions of ten or hundred did not exist. A Tarf did not necessarily consist of ten villages, nor did ten, twenty or hundred Tarfs make a Prant. It is not improbable that Shivaji's division was the natural evolution of the one that existed when Manu's code had been compiled, the connecting link between the two systems being supplied by Vishnu who still retained the unit of the single village, with the lordship of ten villages. His district perhaps corresponded to Shivaji's *Prant*.

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[1] Vishnu, S. B. E., Vol. VII, pp. 15-17.

[2] Shanti Parva, Chap. 81.

Another link with the past is supplied by the appellation of the officer in charge of a Tarf. He was in rare instances still called Paripatyagar when Shivaji ruled, and from some papers published by Mr. V. K. Rajwade it appears that he had to perform the duties of a Police Magistrate. It appears from this that he was the lineal successor of Danda-nayaka and Dandanatha of the old inscriptions. For the word *danda* has often been used in old works on Hindu law as well as in the Mahabharata[4] in the sense of punishment and can therefore be regarded as synonymous with the Marathi term *paripatya.* Sir R. G. Bhandarkar no doubt holds that the Danda-nayaka was a minister of war[5] and Dr. Fleet was of opinion that the terms Danda-nayaka and Chamunath were synonymous,[6] but there are instances of its being used in the other sense as well. Dr. R. Shama Shastri has translated Danda-dhara as a Magistrate.[7] It will not therefore be unreasonable to suggest that the term Paripatyagar was really a relic of the past, and it still survives in the Paripothaygars of Coorg.

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[3] Manu, VII, 115, S. B. E., p. 234.

[4] Shanti Parva.

The antiquity of the Indian village communities has been established beyond doubt. References to their constitution, regulations and bye-laws, have been made by Kautilya, Manu, Vishnu, Brihaspati, Narada, and other Indian law-givers of old. Village affairs have not unfrequently been described in Buddhist Jataka stories. The subject has been very ably and exhaustively treated by Dr. R. C. Majumdar and all that I should do here is to refer my readers to his "Corporate Life in Ancient India," and confine myself to an enquiry about the antiquity of rights and perquisites of village officers as well as their duties.

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[5] Early Hist. of the Dekkan, 2nd edition, p. 90.

[6] J. B. Br. R. A. S., XVI, p. 2.

[7] Kautilya, Arthashastra, p. 10.

2. *Headman and the Scribe :*

The village headman in Maharashtra is called Patil. It is evident that the word has been derived from Pattakila of the inscriptions. The second officer was Kulkarni, occasionally styled in very old records as the Grama-lekhaka. Kulkarni most probably is a compound of the words *kula* and *karani* and originally meant an officer in charge of accounts relating to village lands. Kula occurs in Manu VII, 119 and according to Dr. Bühler it denotes as much land as suffices for one family; "Kulam," says he, "is really a technical term which Medhatithi explains by ghanta, a term known in some districts. Govindaraja, Kulluka, Narayana and Raghavananda state that it is the double of a 'middling plough,' *i.e.*, as much as can be cultivated with twelve oxen while Nandana interprets it as the share of one cultivator." [8] It is not however impossible that the term *kura* known in some of Bengal districts has been derived from kula of Manu. The word *kuli* indicating a measure of land, also occurs in the following sentence in a Kanarese inscription of Singhanadeva: "Also the fixed contribution that was allotted, free from all opposing claims, on the fixed betel plantation measuring five hundred kulis which was to the south of (the temple) of the god."[9] Kulam therefore, as Manu understood it, was not unknown in Southern India. The word karana according to Dr. Bhagavanlal Indraji means a department; and Patal Karni the functionary in charge of the Patal Department.[10] Karnika has been translated by Dr. Kielhorn as writer of legal documents[11]; Karnika according to Dr. R. Shama Shastri was a Superintendent of accounts.[12] That officers in charge of a Karan had also perhaps something to do with the State records will be seen in the following extract from Sir R. G. Bhandarkar's Early History of the Dekkan. "In the introduction to his works on Dharmashastras he (Hemadri) is called Mahadeva's Shri Karanadhipa or Shri Karanaprabhu. In the Thana copper plate of 1194 Shaka also, he is said to have taken upon himself the adhipatya or controllership of all Karana. This office seems to have been that of chief secretary or one who wrote and issued all orders on behalf of his masters and kept the State Record."[13] The Kulkarni also wrote all accounts and legal documents, as well as orders (emanating from the Patil) and was in charge of the village records. The words Karan and

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[8] S. B. E., XXV, p. 235.

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[9] Fleet, J. B. Br. R. A. S., XII, pp. 22ff.

[10] Ind. Ant., XII, p. 122.

[11] Harsha Inscription, Ep. Ind., Vol. II, p. 129, Siyadoni Inscription, Ep. Ind, Vol. I, p. 166.

[12] Kautilya, Arthashastra, p. 71.

[13] Early History of the Dekkan, 2nd ed., p. 116.

Karnika as interpreted above by these celebrated scholars, include all these different functions. My suggestion that Kulkarni is a compound of '*kula*' and '*karani*' meaning an officer in charge of the *karana* of *kulas* or village lands is not therefore altogether untenable.

3. Their Duties :

Let us now turn to our main enquiry, the antiquity of the official duties, as well as the rights and perquisites of these village officers. The Patil, in the Maratha days, was the revenue officer, the chief Police Magistrate, and he united in himself the functions of the chief judicial officer as well. Dr. Majumdar says,[14] "Thus we learn from Kharassara Jataka[15] that it was the duty of the headman (Gamabhojaka) to collect revenue, and with the help of local men to secure the village against the inroads of robbers." The Patil had also inherited his judicial authority from his predecessor of the ancient Indian villages. "The judicial powers of the headman of a village (Gamabhojaka)," says the same writer, "are referred to in the Jataka stories ***There is no express mention in the Jataka stories that he excercised them in conjunction with the villagers. The Kulavaka Jataka seems to show that such was the case at least in some villages."[16] The old Hindu lawgivers are not altogether silent about this important function of the village headman. Vishnu certainly refers to his judicial authority when he says, "If any offence has been committed in a village, let the lord of that village suppress the evil, and give redress to those that have been wronged.[17]

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[14] Corporate Life in Ancient India, p. 57.

[15] No. 79, I, 354.

The Patil under the Marathas was responsible for the discovery and restoration of all stolen properties within his jurisdiction, failing which he had to make adequate compensation for the loss. He could however escape this by tracing the thief to the next village when the responsibility was transferred to the headman and the inhabitants of that village. In Apstamba's time[18] village officers appointed by the king were charged with similar duties. They must protect a town from thieves in every direction to the distance of one krosa from each village. (They must protect the country to the distance of one krosa from each village.) They must be made to repay what is stolen within these (boundarie)."[19] When Kautilya wrote (4th century B.C.), vendors of wine were charged with similar responsibility with regard to the property of their drunken customers. "When customers under intoxication lose any of their things, the merchants of the shop," says Kautilya, "shall not only make good the loss, but also pay an equivalent fine."[20] Similarly the Superintendent of Tolls had to make good whatever had been lost by merchants in the part of the country under his charge.[21] Kautilya is not silent about a similar responsibility of the village headman. "Having made the value, etc., of their merchandise known (to the headman of the village), traders shall halt in some part of a village. When any part of their merchandise which has not been truly sent out of the village during the night has been stolen or lost, the headman of the village shall make good the loss." Kautilya further lays down that "whatever of their merchandise is stolen or lost in the intervening places between two villages, the Superintendent of pasture-lands shall make good. If there are no pasture-lands in such places, the officer called *Chorarajjuka* shall make good the loss. If the loss of merchandise occurs in such parts of the country as are not provided even with such security (a chorarajjuka), the people in the boundaries of the place shall contribute to make up the loss. If there are no people in the boundaries, the people of five or ten villages of the neighbourhood shall make up the loss."[22] Under the Mauryas, therefore, not only the village headman, but in certain cases the villagers had to compensate for any property stolen or lost in their neighbourhood. When the Vishnu Samhita was compiled (not earlier than the 3rd century A. D.) the duty of compensating persons who had been robbed devolved on the king. "Having recovered goods stolen by thieves let him restore them entire to their owners, to whatever caste they may belong. If he has been unable to recover them, he must pay (their value) out of his own treasury."[23] Narada, who possibly wrote in the sixth century A. D., however, lays down that "he on whose ground a robbery has been committed must trace the thieves to the best of his power, or else he must make good what has been stolen, unless the foot marks can be traced from that ground (into another man's ground). When the foot marks after leaving that ground are lost and cannot be traced any further, the neighbours, inspectors of the road, and governors of that region shall be made responsible for the loss."[24] This certainly offers the closest approximation to the Maratha system, which can be very well illustrated by a comparison with an old Marathi paper in which a similar process has been described.[25] The Patil as the Police Magistrate of the village naturally became responsible for the recovery of all stolen property, but the real work of tracing out the thieves fell upon the Ramoshis, a criminal tribe, charged with the police work of the village. The compensation-money paid to the party robbed, was generally raised by levying a fine on the Ramoshis.

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[16] Corporate Life in Ancient India, p. 62.

[17] S. B. E., Vol. VII, p. 15.

[18] 4th or 5th century B. C.

[19] S. B. E., Vol. II, p. 162.

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[20] Kautilya, Arthashastra, p. 148.

[21] Kautilya, Arthashastra, p. 138.

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[22] Kautilya, Arthashastra, p. 293.

[23] S. B. E., Vol. VII, p. 20.

[24] S. B. E., Vol. XXXIII, p. 225.

From the Jataka stories, referred to by Dr. R. C. Majumdar as well as the Mahabharata, the Manu Samhita and the Vishnu Smriti, it appears that the village headman was appointed by the king. From the story of the Nishada Kayavya[26] however it appears that the Gramani or the village headman was sometimes elected by the villagers. The Maratha Patil was neither elected by his co-villagers nor appointed by the State. He was a hereditary officer, with hereditary rights which he could transfer by sale. According to Dr. Majumdar, one of the Mathura Jaina image inscriptions which refers to a lady, would was the first wife of the village headman and daughter-in-law of the village headman, would seem to imply that the post of village headman was hereditary in the family.[27] Thus it appears that even in very early times the office had acquired a hereditary character. The process of transformation is not very hard to guess, and in Maratha days elected or appointed Patil or Kulkarni were altogether unknown.

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[25] See Rajwade, Marathyanchya Itihasanci Sadhanen, Vol. X, p. 116.

[26] Mahabharata, Shanti Parva.

[27] Corporate Life in Ancient India, pp. 61-62.

While discussing the etymology of the word Kulkarni, we have discussed the duties of that officer. It will suffice here to note that his duties were somewhat analogous to those of the Gopa and the Sthanika of the Mauryan towns. "A Gopa," says Kautilya, "shall keep the accounts of ten households, twenty households, or forty households. He shall not only know the caste, gotra, the name and occupation of both men and women in those households, but also ascertain their income and expenditure. Likewise, the officer known as Sthanika shall attend to the accounts of the four quarters of the capital."[28]

3. *The Potdar:*

The origin of another Maratha village officer, *viz.*, the Potdar, can be traced to the Maurya days. The Potdar was a Sonar or goldsmith by caste, and his duty was to assay coins. Kautilya mentions an examiner of coins,[29] and lays down that no gold coin should be accepted by the treasury officer unless its purity has been attested

[28] Kautilya, Arthashastra, p. 181.

[29] Kautilya, Arthashastra, pp. 65, 79, 98.

to by the examiner of coins (or Rupadarsaka).[30] It was his duty to regulate currency both as a medium of exchange and as legal tender admissible into the treasury.[31] Whether Kautilya's Rupadarsaka was like the Maratha Potdar a goldsmith by caste or profession we do not know, but it may be noticed here that the officer in charge of the Maurya mint was, as in Maratha days, a goldsmith. While in Shivaji's time and under the Peshwa regime the goldsmiths obtained license, on the payment of a premium, for opening and working mints under certain stipulations and reservations, the Maurya kings had mints of their own, and these were worked under the supervision of the State goldsmith.

4. *The Patil's perquisites :*

Let us now turn to the perquisites of the Patil's office and try to find out how many of them had the sanction of the old Hindu lawgivers. It appears from a Marathi deed of sale that the following were among others the dues that it was customary for the Patil to receive from his co-villagers :

1. A bundle of fuel.
2. 1½ maunds per boat load of grain.
3. Twenty-five bundles of jawar-sticks from each cultivator.

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[30] Arthashastra, p. 64.

[31] Arthashastra, p. 98.

4. Five seers of cotton from each field.
5. One bundle of jawar from each cultivator.
6. Two pairs of shoes per year from the shoemaker.
7. One bundle of green fodder from each cultivator.
8. Nine *taks* of oils from each oil-mill.
9. Thirteen leaves per day from each seller of betel leaves.
10. One lump of molasses, one bundle of sugar-cane and one tin of juice from each farm growing sugar-cane, excepting that belonging to the Joshi.
11. One goat from each herd on the Dasra day.
12. One piece of cloth per loom per year from all classes of weavers.
13. One piece of cloth per year from the loom of a Dhangar.
14. Half a cocoanut for every marriage-negotiation, marriage and widow-remarriage.
15. Vegetables from vegetable growers.
16. All produce, except corn, on one *wafa* from each farm.
17. Customary shares from each seller in the market.
18. Customary rent from each Bania's stall.
19. ¾ seer per bag of grocery from a grocer's shop.

20. The customary amount of salt and chaff per bag.
21. One nut per day from each grocer's shop.
22. Water to be supplied by the Koli.

The Patil perhaps owed these dues to a law of Manu which says "Those (articles) which the villagers ought to furnish daily to the king such as food, drink, and fuel, the lord of one village shall obtain. The ruler of ten (villages) shall enjoy one *kula* (as much land as suffice for one family), the ruler of twenty-five *kulas*, the Superintendent of a hundred villages (the revenues of) one village, the lord of a thousand (the revenue of) a town."[32] The Patilship corresponded to the lordship of one village. According to Manu he was not entitled to any rent-free land, but the Maratha Patil in addition to food, drink and fuel, as enumerated in the above list, enjoyed some rent-free Inam land as well. As Manu allots to the Patil all that "the villagers ought to furnish daily to the king," let us see what the king could expect from a village according to other Hindu jurists. The king, according to Kautilya, could "exercise his right of ownership with regard to fishing, ferrying and trading in vegetables (haritpanya) in reservoirs or lakes."[33] From villages of different descriptions, he could expect taxes in the form of grains, cattle, gold or raw materials, free labour and dairy produce.[34] Vishnu allows the king to take from his subjects as taxes "a sixth part every year of the grain; and sixth part of all other seeds; two in the hundred, of cattle, gold and clothes; a sixth part of flesh, honey, clarified butter, herbs, perfumes, flowers, roots, fruits, liquids and condiments, wood, leaves (of the palmyra tree and others), skins, earthen pots, stone vessels, and anything made of split bamboo."[35] It is necessary to note here that the list quoted above is by no means exhaustive and the document from which we quoted it, does not give a complete list of all the rights and perquisites of the Patil's office. These varied in different parts of Maharashtra, as the king's demands must have varied in different parts of India at different times. A comparison between our list of the Patil's dues and those supplied by Kautilya and Vishnu leaves little doubt as to the antiquity of the different items. The village Mali on festive occasions had to supply flowers for the Patil's house. He was entitled to the free labour of the Koli and the Mahar who had to supply him with water and fuel respectively. The Mahar could not take the skin of his dead cattle, and the shoemaker, the oil man, the weaver had to give him shoes, oil and cloth. He was entitled to a share of the vegetables, or haritpanya of Kautilya, and herbs sold in the village. He got one goat from each herd on the Dasra day which correspond to sixth part of flesh, which according to Vishnu the king could take. "The customary rent for each Bania's stall" is no less old than the Shukra Niti where we read that the king should have "land tax from shop-keepers."

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[32] S. B. E., Vol. XXV, pp. 234-235.

[33] Kautilya, Arthashastra, p. 53.

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[34] Kautilya, Arthashastra, p. 178.

[35] S. B. E., Vol. VII, p. 16.

The old legal works does not form the only evidence in favour of the antiquity of these dues. Some of them have been mentioned in old inscriptions as well. The Maratha Patils were entitled to a small tax in money on the occasion of each marriage and widow-re-marriage (Lagna-patti and Patdam) in the village. Reference is made to such a tax in a Kanarese inscription of Yadava Singhana Deva.[36] "And whenever those same Ugura three hundred and the five hundred and four," so runs the inscription, "asked with importunity they gave one coin such as is given on marriage occasions." The same inscription mentions an impost of betel-leaves on betel-leaf sellers and a measure of oil on each oil mill. "*Harikekuli* and the contribution on the profits," we read in this interesting document, "was the impost of betel-leaves levied on the road; and there was allotted to the same god one *visa* on each load of a beast of burden of betel leaves. Two *solasages* of oil were given on each oil mill to provide for the ceremony of averting the effects of the evil eye, which was held on Mondays at the Singvatti of that locality. And one oil mill was set apart for the god. Sixty cultivators gave a *kandage* of dried fruits, grains, etc. And the reapers of the betel plants will give (a contribution). The ministers of the king shall recognize these imposts. And the sellers of betel leaves and areca-nuts inside the village will give (a contribution) when they realize in cash the price that they obtain." This grant was made by Danda-nayaka Purushottama, an officer of the Yadava king, Singhana Deva, to a temple at Munoli in the Belgaum district, and the date of the inscription is 1145 of the Shaka era. This clearly shows how these imposts were common in Southern India in the 13th century of the Christian era.

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[36] Fleet, J. B. Br. R. A. S., XXII, pp. 22f.

These imposts were not however peculiar to South India alone, they are mentioned along with "the rent of a Bania's stall" in an earlier North Indian inscription, *viz.*, the famous temple inscription of Siyadoni, which can be ascribed to the tenth century A. D., according to Prof. Kielhorn. Among other donations recorded in this huge inscription, the following will be of special interest to us.

(26-27) (Samvat 994, Vaishakha vadi 5, Samkrantau.) The sellers of betel. Shavara, son of Keshava and Madhava, son of Ichchu, gave an endowment realizing the payment of a vigrahadrammavisovaka on every palika of leaves to the god Vishnu, set up by Chanduka.

(27-28) Nagaka gave a *palika* of oil from every oil mill of the oil makers.

(30-31) Samvat 1008, Magha shudi 11. Keshava, Durgaditya and other oil makers, gave a *palika* of oil from every oil mill to Shri Cakraswamideva, set up by Purandara in the temple of Vishnu erected by Chandu.

(36-39) Samvat 1025, Magha vadi 9. The merchant Shridhara, son of Mahaditya: assigned a quarter of a Shrimadadivarahadramma, paid as the rent of a *vithi* to Shri-Vishnu-bhattaraka set up by Mahaditya in the temple of Vishnu erected by Chandu.[37]

I do not contend that the imposts mentioned in the Munoli temple inscription and the voluntary gifts enumerated in the Siyadoni inscription were in all respects identical with the dues of the Patil. According to Manu the village officer was entitled to all that the king could expect from a village. Kautilya says that in lieu of a tax in cash some villages were allowed to pay the royal tax in the shape of grains, dairy products, labour, military service, etc. In the above two inscriptions we find that imposts of betel-leaves, and a certain measure of oil from each oil mill were made in favour of a god. Is it quite unreasonable to suppose that the betel-leaf seller, the oilman, the shoemaker, the areca-nut seller (grocer) had similarly offered to give the Patil a share of their produce, to which he was entitled according to the laws of Manu, and the existing imposts in favour of the village headman had led to similar imposition in favour of the village god ?

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[37] Kielhorn, Ep. Ind., Vol. I, p. 168.

5. *The Balutas :*

The Balutas or village artisans played an important part in Maratha villages. They enjoyed hereditary monopoly of their trade within the village, and in the harvest time got a share of grains from each cultivator. Reference to the perquisites of the artisans (Karukai-nadi) is made in a Yadava inscription dated 1175 of the Shaka era.[38] The Balutas were termed as Karu in the Peshwa days also. It is not therefore unreasonable to suppose that these existed in the Maratha village in the 13th century A. D. also, when Maharashtra as still under the Hindu Yadava kings.

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[38] Fleet, J. B. Br. R. A. S., XII, p. 49.

CHAPTER IV

CITY POLICE

1. The Kotwal and the Nagaraka :

From the village let us turn to the city. The officer in charge of a Maratha city was the Kotwal and the officer in charge of Mauryan city was styled, as we learn from Kautilya, as Nagaraka. The Kotwal was a Police Magistrate and at the head of the city police. He had to dispose of all important disputes. He had to regulate prices. He had to take the census and keep a record of all persons coming into and leaving the city. He had to dispose of all disputes relating to roads, lanes and houses, and finally he had to furnish monthly accounts to the government.[1] It is evident that the Maratha Kotwal had inherited some of his duties from the Mauryan Nagaraka who also had "to look to the affairs of his city," whose assistants the Gopas and the Sthanikas kept accounts and also took the census. (What else can Kautilya mean when he says of the Gopa ; "he shall not only know the caste, gotra, the name and occupation of both men and women in those households, but ascertain their income and expenditure ? ") He also kept himself informed of all new arrivals, through the Gopa and the Sthanika. The Nagaraka enforced regulations regarding houses and streets as well as sanitary regulations. He had to arrest thieves and to search for bad characters with the help of the spies, and the city police.[2] This is not all. We learn from Tone that at Poona, under the regime of Baji Rao II no person could appear in the streets without being arrested, after the firing of the gun at ten at night. The prisoner was detained till morning when he was dismissed by the Kotwal. " So strict is the discipline," Tone tells us, "that the Peshwa himself had been kept prisoner a whole night for being out at improper hours." This regulation is, we find to our surprise, at least as old as Kautilya's Arthashastra. While recounting the duties of the Nagaraka, the Mauryan statesman writes : "The interval between six nalikas ($2\frac{2}{5}$ hours) after the fall of night and six nalikas before the dawn shall be the period when a trumpet shall be sounded, prohibiting the movement of the people. The trumpet having been sounded, whoever moves in the vicinity of the royal buildings during the first or the last yama (3 hours ?) of the period shall be punished with a fine of one pana and a quarter, and during the middlemost yamas with double the above fine, and whoever moves outside (the royal buildings or the fort) shall be punished with four times the above fine."[8]

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[1] Peshwa's Diaries, Madhava Rao I, Vol. II, pp. 234-236.

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[2] Kautilya, Arthashastra, pp. 180-185, and p. 278.

Thus we find that the administrative divisions of Maharashtra, the organisation of the village communities, the organisation of the city government were all based on the old Hindu system. The old Hindu institutions in most cases not only survived but largely contributed to the development of the Maratha administrative system. And if we examine the Maratha revenue and judicial system, we will get further convincing proofs of the survival of the old Hindu institution in Maharashtra. Even the Marathi grant deeds and judgments will yield fresh evidence of this process of slow evolution of Maratha institutions from the earlier Hindu institutions through successive stages.

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[8] Kautilya, Arthashastra, p. 184.

CHAPTER V

LAND REVENUE AND CESSES

1. Classification of land:

Land in Maharastra was divided into three main classes:

(1) Land let out to permanent holders.
(2) Crown or demesne land.
(3) Forests.

Arable land was again classed as jirayat and bagayat according to the character of their soil, and patasthal and motasthal according to the manner of irrigation, and superior, inferior and ordinary according to their fertility, as we find in a letter addressed to Appaji Hari, Mamlatdar of Wan Dindori, in the year 1760-61. "He was told that the villages should be surveyed. The land should be classed as superior, ordinary and inferior and also as jirayat and bagayat as well as patasthal and motasthal." A further distinction is made between waste and rocky lands and lands already brought under cultivation. While a still fresh classification is made for revenue purposes according to the crops generally raised on the land in question as will be seen in the following extract from a document of the time of Balaji Baji Rao:

(1) *Rice lands* should be assessed at the rate of Rs. 5 per bigha as before.

(2) Lands producing *sugarcane* should be assessed at the rate of Rs. 5 per bigha as before.

(3) *Vegetable*-producing lands should pay Rs. 2 per bigha as before.

(4) Lands under *summer crops* should be assessed at Rs. 1-8 per bigha as before.

These various classifications, divisions and subdivisions were by no means new and were known as early as the Maurya era when the great Brahman administrator and political philosopher wrote his Arthashastra. He makes a clear distinction between *sita* or produce from crown lands and *bhaga* or portion of produce payable to the government. "Flower gardens, fruits gardens, vegetable gardens, wet fields and fields where crops are grown by sowing roots for seeds (Mulavapah)," he continues, "come under Setu. Game forests, timber forests and elephant forests are forests.[1] While recounting the duties of the Gopa, Kautilya lays down that "It is the duty of Gopa, village accountant, to attend to the accounts of five or ten villages as ordered by the collector general. By setting up boundaries to villages, by numbering plots of ground as cultivated, uncultivated, plains, wet lands, vegetable gardens, fences, forests, * * irrigation works * * pasture grounds and roads, * * he shall register gifts, sales, charities and remission of taxes regarding fields."[2] Reference is frequently made to classification according to irrigation facilities. "Those who cultivate irrigating by manual labour," says Kautilya, "shall pay one-fifth of the produce as water rate; by carrying water on shoulders one-fourth of the produce; by water lifts one-third of the produce and by raising water from rivers, lakes, tanks, and wells one-third or one-fourth of the produce."[3] Mention is made of irrigation tanks also in a subsequent passage. Similar classification for ascessment purposes was also in vogue when the Sukraniti was compiled, where we find that "the king should realise one-third, one-fourth, or one-half from places which are irrigated by tanks, canals and wells by rains and by rivers respectively." The Chola kings also recognised this time-honoured distinction between irrigated and unirrigated lands." "The assessment is said, under the Cholas in 1046 (Dv. 75), to be one-sixth of the produce, and this was the recognised Hindu rate from the earliest times. But a quarter of a century later

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[1] Kautilya, Arthashastra, p. 66.

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[1] Arthashastra, p. 178. [2] Kautilya, Arthashastra, p. 144.

[3] Sukra Niti, S. B. H., p. 148.

it is described in more detail as a fifth of the produce of forest tracts and of lands on which dry (unirrigated) crops are raised, and a third of the produce of lands below a tank on which paddy is grown."[1] The classification of land according to fertility and actual state of cultivation was perhaps the outcome of the Mughal influence.

2. *The Principle of Assessment :*

It is not for us to decide whether the revenue derived from lands by Hindu monarchs was a land tax or rent. But the principle of assessment, as it existed in Shivaji's time, was very old indeed. Agriculture was then, as it is now, the principal industry in India and land revenue naturally formed the principal source of income of the Peshwas as well as of the Chhatrapatis. But while a long lease and a fixed rent were the special features of the land revenue system under the Peshwas, the founder of the Maratha Empire preferred to share the actual produce of the field with his subjects. Sabhasad tells us that an estimate was made of the produce (in grain) of each bigha and after dividing the grains into five shares three of the shares were left to the Rayat; two shares were taken for the government.[6] In the Rumindei pillar inscription of Asoka mention is made of *Athabhagiye* or the eighth share of the produce claimed by the crown.[7] 'Bhaga,' as we have already seen, means the portion of produce payable to the government according to Kautilya. According to Vishnu the king was entitled to "a sixth part every year of the grain and a sixth part of all other seeds."[8] Manu lays down that the king may take the eighth, sixth or twelvth part of the produce[9] "according to the difference of the soil and labour necessary to cultivate it," adds a commentator.[9a] Youan Chwang found the Maratha tenants paying one-sixth of the produce as rent.[10] The Chola kings, as Rice tells us, also claimed a sixth of the actual produce in the eleventh century A. D. Sher Shah collected one-fourth and Akbar expected one-third of the total crop though the Quran permits no more than one-tenth. Thus it is clear that although the proportion demanded varied from time to time, the principle that a certain proportion of the total crop should be annually rendered to the state was in operation can be traced from Shivaji back to the time of Asoka if not earlier.

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[1] Lewis Rice, Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions, pp. 173 and 174.

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[6] S. N. Sen, Siva Chhatrapati, p. 37.

[7] Smith, Asoka, p. 199.

[8] S. B. E., Vol. VII, p. 16.

[9] S. B. E., Vol. XXV, pp. 236-237.

[9a] The Institutes of Manu, by C. G. Haughton, quoted by Thomas, Revenue Sources of the Mughal Empire, p. 15.

[10] Watters, On Youan Chwang, Vol. I, p. 176.

It should however be noted that this principle was not peculiar to the Hinds or to India. Abul Fazl informs us that the rates in Turkey, Turan and Iran were one-fifth, one-sixth and one-tenth respectively.[11] From a specified share of the actual crop in Shivaji's time to a fixed rent assessed after the actual inspection of the harvest, under the Peshwas, was but a natural change.

Rent or land tax did not form the only item of a state's income in any country in any age remote or recent. This was supplemented by customs duties, taxes, cesses, and undefined exactions. But it was the fixed principle of the Maratha financiers that these levies should not in any case exceed the resources of the tax-payers or in their own words taxes should always be *jivan maphik*. Here also consciously or unconsciously they were following the precepts of their ancestors. Manu, for example, lays down that "after due consideration the king shall always fix in his realm the duties and taxes, in such a manner that both he himself and the man who does the work receive their due reward. As the leech, the calf, and the bee take their food little by little, even so must the king draw from his realm moderate annual taxes."[12] And again, "Let him not cut up his own root (by levying no taxes), nor the root of other (men) by excessive greed; for by cutting up his own root (or theirs), he makes himself or them wretched."[13] Shukracharya was of opinion that "the king should receive rent from the peasant in such a way that he be not destroyed. It is to be realised in the fashion of the weaver of the garland not of the coal merchant."[14] Baudhayana recommends the same principle of moderation when he says "Let him also lay just (duties) on other (marketable goods) according to their intrinsic value without oppressing (the traders)."[15] This may be an accidental coincidence, as the principle is one that will recommend itself to the good sense of every statesman in every age. But it cannot be an accident that many of the taxes and duties of the Maratha age can be traced to a remote past. The reason of course is not hard to guess as kings in general and autocrats in particular seldom forget a single item of revenue sanctioned by law or custom.[16] Human nature being the same everywhere neither the Muhammadan nor the Hindu rulers (it is true the Muhammadan rulers often remitted many obnoxious taxes at the time of their accession to the throne, but it seems that the royal mandate was not either respected in distant provinces, or the prohibited duties were revived before long) were likely to forego any of their old rights in this particular direction and this explains the survival of many of these levies with or without legal sanction even to the present times. Let us now see how many of these taxes, duties and extra cesses had been inherited by the Maratha rulers from their predecessors of the Epic and the Pauranic ages.

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[11] Ain-i-Akbari, Gladwin, Vol. I, p. 349.

[12] S. B. E., Vol. XXV, p. 236

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[13] S. B. E., Vol., XXV, p. 238.

[14] Shukra Niti, S. B. H., p. 47.   [15] S. B. E., Vol. XIV, p. 200.

[16] We know how a lawyer commissioned by Charles I rummaged the state papers of England and ultimately discovered to the utter disgust of the English tax-payers the king's right to levy Shipmoney.

3. Taxes and Extra cesses:

1. Forced labour. *Begar or Beth Begar* as it is called by the Marathas, was certainly one of the most obnoxious, as it was one of the oldest, of these exactions. It is to the credit of the Peshwa Madhava Rao I that he finally abolished it not only on paper but in practice too, as Grant Duff tells us, although it had the sanction of most of the Hindu law-givers of old. Father Manu authorises the king to make mechanics, artisans, and Shudras work for him one day in a month. "Mechanics and artisans, as well as Shudras who subsist by manual labour, he may cause to work (for himself) one (day) in each month"[17] Vishnu also lays down that

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[17] S. B. E., Vol. XXV, p. 238.

"Artizans (such as blacksmiths), manual labourers (such as carpenters), and Shudras shall do work for the king for a day in each month."[18] According to Shukra, "The king should make the artists and artisans to work once in the fortnight."[19] In the Sudhana Kinnaryavadan of the Bodhisattavadana Kalpalata the king Mahendra Sena is made to observe that in no king's dominion can the subject escape forced labour, the king's dues and the king's punishment.[20] Forced labour is mentioned by Youan Chwang also, but he says that it was very sparingly imposed.[21] Lewis Rice says that from inscriptions it appears that towards the close of the thirteenth century forced labour formed one of the imposts levied by Hoysala kings on their subjects.[22] It was in vogue under the Muhammadan rulers both in Northern and Southern India. *Begar* is somewhat analogous in principle to the feudal practice that demanded that the tenant should for certain days in the month work in his lord's field, and we need not be surprised if it still survives in some parts of the country. But *begar* is not the only heirloom that the Maratha rulers inherited from their predecessors.

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[18] S. B. E., Vol. VII, p. 17.

[19] Shukra Niti, S. B. H., p. 148.

[20] Bodhisattvavdana Kalpalata of Kshemendra, Sixty-fourth Pallava.

[21] Watters, On Youan Chwang, Vol. I, p. 176.

[22] Mysore and Coorg, p. 176.

2. *Rahadari or Rahdari,* a duty levied on goods or merchandise in transit through land, appears from its Persian name to be a tax of purely Muhammadan origin, but in reality it is an old tax *(Vartani)* frequently mentioned by Kautilya. "The officer in charge of boundaries *(Antapala),*" says he, "shall receive a pana and a quarter as road cess (Vartani) on each load of merchandise."[23] Again, "In boundaries, ferry men shall receive the toll, carriage cess and road cess."[24] One of the duties of Revenue Collectors and spies was that they should ascertain the amount of road cess.[25] Shukra authorised the king to levy this cess not only upon the merchants but all who had occasion to use the royal road. "For the preservation and repair of the streets, he should have dues from those who use the streets."[26]

3. Another minor tax we come across in Shivaji and pre-Shivaji state papers is *Mohimpatti* which literally means an expedition cess[27] and we find a similar tax mentioned by Kautilya in relation to the duties of Revenue Collectors and spies. "As regards foreign merchandise of superior or inferior quality

[23] Kautilya, Arthashastra, p. 137.

[24] Kautilya, p. 159.

[25] Kautilya, p. 180.

[26] Shukra Niti, S. B. H., p. 149.

[27] *Vide* the list of taxes compiled by me and embodied in Book I.

arriving thither by land or water, they shall ascertain the amount of toll, road-cess, conveyance-cess, military cess, etc.[28] But whether these two taxes were analogous in character it is hard to ascertain now.

4 & 5. In Shivaji's time two taxes *Telpatti* and *Tup* by name were not uncommon. Telpatti literally means an oil cess and Tup is clarified butter. These were in all probability taxes in kind exacted from the manufacturer. We may seek their origin in that passage of Manu which authorises the king to take "the sixth part of trees, meat, honey, clarified butter, perfumes, herbs, substances used for flavouring food, flowers, roots, and fruits."[29] An identical provision is also found in the Vishnu Smriti.[30] Nor is Kautilya altogether silent about these taxes. We have already referred to villages that supplied dairy produce.[31] But he includes oil and clarified butter in more unequivocal terms among the items of revenue when he recounts the imposts that come under the head of forts. "Tolls, fines, weights and measures, the town-clerk, the superintendent of coinage, the superintendent of seals and passports, liquor, slaughter of animals, threads, oils, ghee, etc., come under the head of forts."[32] We have

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[28] Kautilya, Arthashastra, p. 180.

[29] S. B. E., Vol. XXV, p. 237.

[30] S. B. E., Vol. VII, p. 16.

[31] Kautilya, p. 178.

[32] Kautilya, Arthashastra, pp. 65-66.

also seen in the famous Siyadoni inscription how the oilmen levied a voluntary impost of a certain measure of oil in favour of the local temple. This is however a North Indian inscription. But we have already seen that the impost was not at all unknown in Southern India as well. Ghi or clarified butter was one of the "imposts professedly abolished by Firuz Shah in A.D. 1375."[33] It may therefore be safely concluded that Telpatti and Tup were very old imposts possibly as old as the 4th century B.C. if not older.

6. "Weights and measures" formed one of those imposts that, as we have seen from an extract quoted above, came under the head of the forts in Mauryan days. Kautilya explains the nature of this tax while recounting the duties of the goldsmith in the high road. "Weighing balance and counterweights shall be purchased from the superintendent in charge of them. Otherwise a fine of twelve Panas shall be imposed."[34] The standard balance and weight are described at length in the chapter dealing with the office of the superintendent of weights and measures,[35] where we further find that "The Superintendent shall charge 4 mashas for stamping weights or measures. A fine of $27\frac{1}{4}$ panas shall be imposed for using unstamped weights or measures.

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[33] Thomas, Revenue Resources of the Mughal Empire, p. 5.

[34] Kautilya, Arthashastra, p. 108.

[35] Kautilya, Arthashastra, p. 128.

Traders shall every day pay one kakani to the Superintendent towards the charge of stamping the weights and measures."[36] Imported commodities were similarly stamped before they could be offered for sale. "When merchants with their merchandise arrive at the toll-gate, four or five collectors shall take down who the merchants are, whence they come, what amount of merchandise they have brought and where for the first time the sealmark has been made on the (merchandise). Those whose merchandise has not been stamped with sealmark shall pay twice the amount of toll. For counterfeit seal, they shall pay eight times the toll. If the sealmark is effaced or torn (the merchant in question) shall be compelled to stand in ghatikasthana. When one kind of seal is used for another or when one kind of merchandise has been otherwise named, the merchants shall pay a fine of 1¼ panas for each load."[37] Every information about this particular impost has been supplied by the Mauryan sage and there is hardly anything left to be desired. We are therefore in a position to estimate its exact character and even a careless comparison will convince one that this Mauryan impost is undoubtedly the prototype of the Marathi *Bat Chhapai.* It has been described by Mr. Elphinstone as a fee on the annual examination of weights (this specially affected the retail traders but fell on others too) and measures.[38] From an entry in the Peshwa's Diaries it appears that a fee was charged for *Chhapa* or stamping of cloth. "The duty on stamping cloth was 5 p.c. on the value of imported cloth and 2½ p.c. on cloth of local manufacture and sellers of unstamped cloths were ordered to be fined."

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[36] Kautilya, p. 130.

[37] Kautilya, Arthashastra, pp. 135-136.

These instances could be multiplied; even such minor imposts as *Shingshingoti* and *Jhadjhadora* can be traced to Kautilya, Manu, Vishnu, and other law-makers. House-tax is mentioned in the Shukraniti. Lewis Rice informs us that in the sixteenth century, "under Vijayanagar, the marriage tax was abolished causing much rejoicing among all classes."[39] Marriage tax or Lagnapatti therefore must have been in existence in the Vijayanagar dominions before its abolition in the sixteenth century. Even Jangampatti, a tax whose very name implied its recent origin (for the Jangamas or Shaiva Lingayets were first organised as a sect towards the close of the 11th century A.D.; the tax therefore must have been levied some time later) was a pre-Shivaji impost. From epigraphic evidence Rice concludes that Jangampatti or a tax on the Jangamas existed in 1505 under the Vijayanagar rule.[40] Octroi duties, such as the Marathas exacted on each load of grain or salt or merchandise carried by men or transport cattle had also been long customary in India. Such imposts are mentioned in the Munoli Panchalinga Deva inscription of Danda-Nayaka Purushottama as well as in the Pehava inscription.[41]

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[38] Elphinstone, Report on the Territories recently conquered from the Paishwa.

[39] Mysore and Coorg, p. 175.

4. *Octroi :*

Kautilya gives a long list showing the graduated scales of octroi which varied according to the capacity of the transport animal.

"A minor quadruped as well as a man carrying some load shall pay one masha.

A head-load, a load carried on shoulders, a cow, and a horse shall each pay 2 mashas.

A camel and a buffalo shall each pay 4 mashas.

A small cart 5 mashas ; and a cart (of medium size) drawn by bulls shall pay 6 mashas, and a big cart 7 mashas.

A head-load of merchandise ¼ masha ; this explains other kinds of loads." [42]

An impost similar to Ashva Zakat is mentioned in the Harsha Inscription where we find that "one dramma on every horse was assigned by the * * * of horse dealers from the Northern country."[43]

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[40] Mysore and Coorg, p. 174.

[41] Bühler, Ep. Ind., Vol. I, p. 184.

[42] Kautilya, pp. 158, 159.

We need not further pursue this question. The instances we have already furnished will suffice to establish that most of these taxes, cesses, and imposts of the Maratha times had long been in existence before the foundation of the Maratha empire. It is not a discredit to them that they continued to levy some or most of these, but it is really very creditable in those days of autocracy and irresponsible government that from time to time these Maratha rulers (characterised as mere plunderers, robbers and scoundrels by the late Dr. Vincent Smith in his Oxford History of India) rose to the occasion and abolished many harassing duties and obnoxious imposts as did the Hindu rulers of Vijayanagar[44] and the Muhammadan emperors of Delhi.[45]

5. *Rasad:*

It will not be out of place to enquire into the antiquity of a practice peculiar to the revenue system of the Marathas. When a Revenue Collector was appointed, the government made him pay a large sum in advance, which the officer was allowed to realise from the revenue of his District with interest. This advance money was known as Rasad. This practice is at least as old as the Shukranitisara, where we find that "Having determined the land-revenue of the village, the king should receive it from one rich man in advance, or guarantee (for the payment) of that either by monthly or periodical instalments." [48]

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[43] Kielhorn, Ep. Ind., Vol. II, p 129.

[44] Rice, Mysore and Coorg, p. 175.

[45] Thomas, Revenue Resources of the Mughal Emperor, Abul Fazl, Ain-i Akbari and Badauni's Muntakhab ul Lahub.

6. *Agriculture:*

മാതൃഭൂമി

All Maratha rulers from Shivaji to Madhava Rao II took particular care to improve and extend agriculture, to reclaim waste lands, to found new villages and market towns, to induce traders, artisans and cultivators from other territories to come and settle, and thereby contribute to the wealth and prosperity of the kingdom as well as to the revenue of the king. Shivaji ordered that "New Rayats (who) will come (to settle) should be given cattle. Grain and money should be given (to them) for providing themselves with seeds. Money and grain (should be) given for their subsistence (and) the sum should be realised in two or four years according to the means (of the Rayats). In this manner should the Rayats be supported."[47] This policy was not only continued but further developed under the Peshwas. In a letter dated 1774 addressed to Mahadeva Nana Shet, Mamlatdar of Amod, he is instructed to bring the waste lands under cultivation and to advance Tagai to the Rayats. The details of concessions to be made for the reclamation of waste lands are given in another document; "Should any person bring an entirely rocky ground under cultivation by covering it with earth and by providing embankments around it, half the land shall be given him in Inam and the remaining half shall be continued rent-free for twenty years and at reduced rate for five years more and shall after that period be subjected to full assessment. Should any person reclaim cultivable land on the sea coast by providing embankments, one-fourth of the land shall be given to him in Inam and the remaining portion shall be continued rent-free and at reduced rates for such periods as upon a consideration of the money and labour spent may seem fit." This was not all. Irrigation works were either constructed by the State or a substantial grant was made to encourage and further private enterprise. In times of famine "no fee was levied from cultivators purchasing bullocks and buffaloes in case they were in want of cattle for agricultural purposes."

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[48] Shukraniti, S. B. H., p. 149.

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[47] S. N. Sen, Siva Chhatrapati, p. 37.

These were the various concessions made for improving and extending agriculture under the Peshwa regime. It may be added that similar concessions were made for the introduction of new, and for the improvement of infant, industries as well as for the foundation of new market towns.

Let us now see what was done, or what in theory at least was recommended, by Hindu writers on polity for the improvement and development of agricultural industry. Shukra simply lays down that "If people undertake new industries or cultivate new lands and dig tanks, canals, wells, etc., for their good, the king should not demand anything of them until they realise profit twice the expenditure."[48] Kautilya recommends similar concessions more than once. "Unprepared lands," he observes, "shall not be taken away from those who are preparing them for cultivation."[49] This is however not much. In a subsequent passage he goes a step further, provides for a reduced rate of rent for reclaimed waste lands as an inducement for undertaking their cultivation, but even there he is not too liberal. He still expects something from the cultivator. "Fields that are left unsown may be brought under cultivation by employing those who cultivate for half the share in the produce or those who live by their own physical exertion may cultivate such fields for ¼th or ⅕th of the produce grown; or they may pay (to the king) as much as they can without entailing any hardship upon themselves, with the exception of their own private lands that are difficult to cultivate." [50] But we should remember that this recommendation applies to those lands only which remain fallow for want of hands alone. Their cultivation does not demand any unusual hardship or present any exceptional difficulty. The Mauryan sage offers really tempting terms for improving irrigation facilities and reclaiming waste or uncultivated tracts. "In the case of construction of new works, as tanks, lakes, etc., taxes (on the lands below such tanks) shall be remitted for five years. For repairing neglected or ruined works of a similar nature, taxes shall be remitted for four years. For improving or extending water works, taxes shall be remitted for three years. In the case of acquiring such newly started works by mortgage or purchase, taxes on the land below such works shall be remitted for two years. If uncultivated tracts are acquired for cultivation by mortgage, purchase or in any other way, remission of taxes shall be for two years. Out of crops grown by irrigation by means of wind power or bullocks or below tanks, in fields, parks, flower gardens, or in any other way, so much of the produce as would not entail hardship on the cultivator may be given to the Government. Persons who cultivate the lands below tanks, etc., of others at a stipulated price, or for annual rent, or for certain number of shares of the crops grown, or persons, who are permitted to enjoy such lands free of rent of any kind, shall keep the tanks, etc., in good repair; otherwise they shall be punished with a fine of double the loss." And finally he lays down that the "kings shall never demand of such of his subjects as live in the tracts of low quality * * He shall, on the other hand, supply with grain and cattle those who colonise waste lands."[51] The resemblance between these regulations of Kautilya and Sukra and those of the Marathas is too striking to be dismissed as accidental. The Marathas were Hindus, their rise had been preceded by the revival of Hinduism of a living liberal and militant type, and they had inherited the old traditions of the land with the indigenous faith, it is therefore but fair to acknowledge that their land revenue system was nothing but an evolution of the old Hindu system transmitted almost in its entirety by the Muhammadans. The Muhammadans no doubt made a change here and an addition there, but that did not materially affect its real character, and to look at it whether under the Muhammadans or the Marathas is but to recognise it as the time honoured system that prevailed in Mauryan and possibly pre-Mauryan India.

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[48] Sukra Niti, S. B. H., p. 148.

[49] Kautilya, p. 52.

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[50] Kautilya, p. 144.

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[51] Kautilya, pp. 216 and 302.

7. *The Economic Policy :*

The economic policy of the Maratha government was also a relic of the past. Shivaji tried to control and regulate the price of such articles as areca-nut, salt, etc., according to the needs of the people. The Peshwas went a step further and dictated to the manufacturer what should be the length of a particular kind of cloth, how much gold thread of what quality should be used in manufacturing a headgear and so forth. It is really with surprise that the student of the history of the Maratha administrative system lights on the following regulations in Kautilya's Artha Shastra. The "Superintendent of Commerce shall ascertain demand or absence of demand for, and rise and fall in the price of various kinds of merchandise which may be the products either of the land or of water and which may have been brought in either by land or by water path. He shall also ascertain the time suitable for their distribution, centralisation, purchase, and sale. That merchandise which is widely distributed shall be centralised and its price enhanced. When the enhanced rate became popular, another rate shall be declared. The merchandise of the king which is of local manufacture shall be centralised ; imported merchandise shall be distributed in several markets for sale. Both kinds of merchandise shall be favourably sold to the people. He shall avoid such large profits as will harm the people."[58] Perhaps the state interfered so much with the trade of the country, both in the Mauryan as well as in the Maratha age, because Hindu kings not only identified themselves with the state but also considered themselves to be in the *locus parenti* with regard to their subjects.

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[58] Artha Sastra, p. 118.

CHAPTER VI

ARMY

The army of the Peshwa was organised on the model of the Mughal army, the famous Maratha tactics of harassing the rear of the enemy, plundering the convoy and cutting off the foragers, had also been tried with eminent success by the famous Abyssinian statesman and general Malik Ambar in pre-Maratha days. The famous Hindu rulers of Maharashtra boasted in their inscriptions of their huge elephants and strength in elephantry, their descendants in the 17th and 18th centuries, on the other hand, relied more on their horse than on those huge monsters whose courage could not be always counted on, specially when rockets and artillery were freely used. It is therefore certain that a wide departure had been made in the military organisation from the conventional rules of the old Hindu tacticians and theorists. But at the same time some of their practices and principles had survived in the Maratha army.

1. Bargir and Shiledar:

The distinction between Shiledar and Bargir force was quite well-known when the

Sukranitisara was compiled. Thus we find the author discriminating between two kinds of army "untrained or trained, officered by the state or not officered by the state; equipped by the state with arms, or supplying their own arms and ammunitions, bringing their own vehicles or supplied with vehicles by the State."[1] These apply equally well to the Shiledar and the Bargir; the Shiledar, it is true, had been placed by Shivaji under the orders of the Sarnobat, but properly speaking they were not officered by the State. Similarly the distinction between three kinds of strongholds or gad, kot and janjira, was known to Kautilya."[2] The Mauryan sage recommends the appointment of many officers with each military unit to prevent treachery. "Elephants, cavalry, chariots, and infantry shall each be officered with many chiefs inasmuch as chiefs, when many, are under the fear of betrayal from each other and scarcely liable to the insinuations and intrigues of an enemy. The same rule shall hold good with the appointment of boundary-guards and repairers of fortifications."[3] We learn from Sabhasad that exactly for the same reason Shivaji never entrusted the sole charge of any of his strongholds to a single commander, but appointed no less than three officers of equal rank but of different caste to exercise conjoint authority over each fort.[4]

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[1] Shukraniti, S. B H., p. 217.

[2] Artha Shastra, pp. 56 and 57.

[3] Kautilya, Artha Shastra, p. 62.

2. *Pension to minor Children and Widows:*

After the Afzal Khan incident Shivaji had directed that the widows of those who had fallen in the affray and had no sons should be maintained by (a pension) half (their husbands') pay. The wounded were given rewards of two hundred, one hundred, twenty-five or fifty Hons per man according to the nature of their wound.[5] The practice of granting suitable pensions to the widows and children of fallen soldiers was continued under the Peshwas, under the style of *Bala parveshi* and *Nan parveshi.*[6] This system had a long past as will be evident from the following passages from Kautilya's Arthashastra. "The sons and wives of those who die while on duty shall get subsistence and wages. Infants, aged persons, or diseased persons related to the deceased servants shall also be shown favour."[7] The practice prevailed under the Chola kings of Southern India as Rice informs us on the testimony of their inscriptions. "A grant of land was made for the family of the fallen man which in some early cases is styled *bal-galchu* but is mostly called a *kalnad*, though the term *sivane* is used in the west. Similar grants of rent-free land, called *kodaji*, were made to men who fell in battle."[8] It may be noted that the practice survived till the fall of the Maratha empire.

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[4] Sen, Sivachhatrapati, p. 30.

[5] Sen, Sivachhatrapati, p. 25.

[6] Peshwanchi Bakhar, p. 34.

[7] Arthashastra, p. 309.

3. *The Pendharis and Chortas :*

The Pendharis formed, as we all know, an integral part of the Maratha force. Plunderers by profession they accompanied every Maratha expedition and shared their ill-gotten spoils with the state. For they had to pay a duty called Palpatti or tent duty which amounted to 25 p.c., of their entire booty for the license granted to them. Occasionally professional thieves or *chortas*, as they were called in Peshwa times, were also sent both by the Maratha generals and the Habshi rulers of Janjira to harass the enemy subjects. It is noteworthy that Kautilya recommends the use of "brave thieves and wild tribes who make no distinction between friend and foe," in order to weaken the enemy. But whether their duty corresponded exactly with those of the Maratha chortas is not clear. The thieves mentioned by Shukracharya, however, must have been the progenitors of the Pendharis, for they shared their spoil with the king. But it seems that they had to carry on their thieving operations at the king's order but independently of any military assistance from the state, and thus acted in the same manner as the *chortas*. "If thieves steal something from other's kingdom by the king's order they should first give one-sixth to the king and then divide the rest among themselves."[9] Brihaspati also refers to licensed free-booters in unmistakable terms. "When anything has been brought from a hostile country by free-booters, with the permission of their lord, they shall give a sixth part to the king and share (the remainder) in due proportion." The proportion as recommended by Brihaspati is also worth noting, as individual exertion and enterprise are taken into consideration. "Four shares shall be awarded to their chief, he who is (specially) valiant shall receive three shares; one (particularly able) shall take two; and the remaining associates shall share alike."[10] It is therefore clear, that the Maratha Pendharis could boast of a very long lineage, if that counts for anything, and they had the bluest blood among thieves and marauders. Perhaps they were not sufficiently well grounded in Sanskrit to know that they had in their

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[8] Rice, Mysore and Coorg, p. 171.

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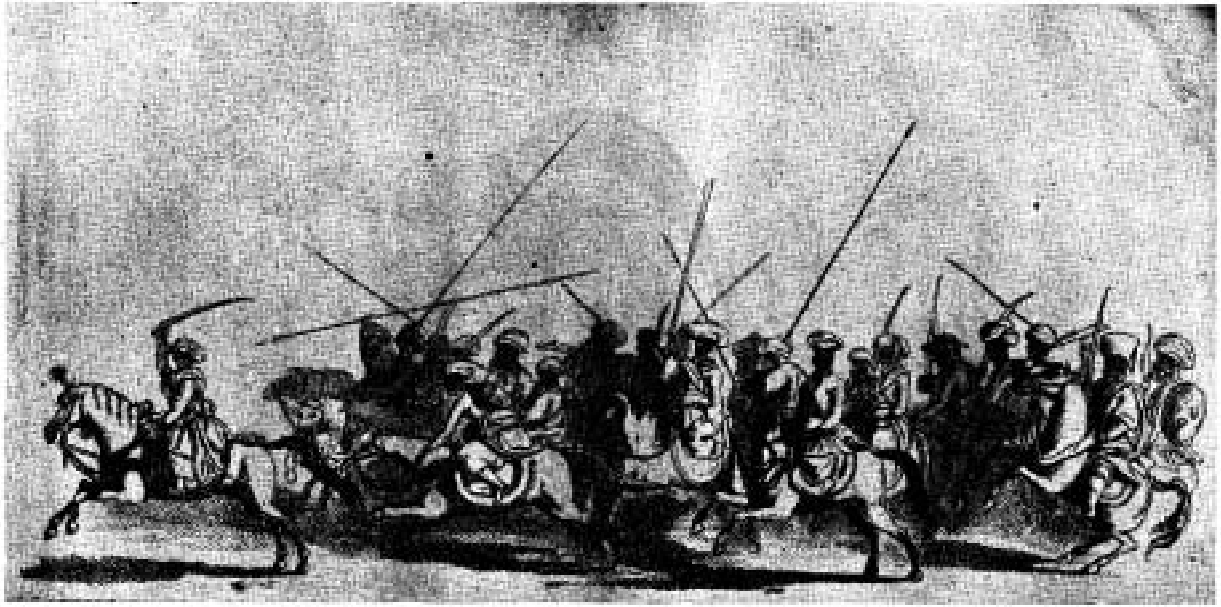
[9] Shukraniti, S. B. H., p. 211.

[10] S. B. E., Vol. XXXIII, p. 241.



Maratha Cavalry

favour the incontestable authority of no less than two great political philosophers and one great law-giver, or they might have pleaded prescriptive right and vested interest when Lord Hastings waged a war of extermination against them. As it is, they had more faith in the good old law of might, and when a mighty government refused to let them ply their old trade, they had perforce to beat their swords into ploughshares. Some of them, the strongest no doubt, became Chiefs and Nawabs, but there again the old law held good.

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CHAPTER VII.

JUDICIAL INSTITUTIONS.

1. Judicial officers :

Perhaps the influence of the old Hindu lawgivers was most in evidence in the judicial system of the Marathas. The criminal cases were tried by the Patil, an appeal lay from him to the Kamavisdar or the District officer, and the highest judicial authority was the king himself, who was generally represented by the chief Nyayadhish. The Nyayadhish was invariably a Brahman and this naturally reminds one of Manu's injunction, "but if the king does not personally investigate the suits then let him appoint a learned Brahman to try them."[1] We find in Shivaji and pre-Shivaji documents mention of Hazir Majalasis as final courts of trial consisting of learned Brahman lawyers and civil and military officers of the state. We read also of Sabha Naiks or presidents of the courts and Mahaprashnikas or chief examiners. It appears from the Shukranitisara that Sabha-Naiks or Adhyakshas and Mahaprashnikas were not unknown when that work was compiled.[2]

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[1] S. B. E., Vol. XXV, p. 254.

[2] S. B. H., pp. 186 & 189.

Shukra tells us that the Pradvivaka is so called because he asks questions, and from the old Marathi documents it appears that the Mahaprashnika also used to do exactly the same thing. So much for the highest tribunal, the judge-president and the chief examiner.

For the judicial authority of the village and district officers also, the Maratha system had the sanction of the old Hindu works. For we read in the Vishnu Smriti "If any offence has been committed in a village, let the lord of that village suppress the evil and (give redress to those that have been wronged). If he is unable to do so, let him announce it to the lord of ten villages; if he too is unable, let him announce it to the lord of a hundred villages; if he too is unable, let him announce it to the lord of the whole district.[3] The lord of the whole district must eradicate the evil to the best of his power."[4] The same procedure is recommended by the sage of the Mahabharata.[5] The question of civil procedure and evidence shall be discussed later, but it will not be out of place here to examine the antiquity of the punishments inflicted on convicted criminals.

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[3] It may be incidentally noted here that the word used in the original Sanskrit text is 'Desha' which is synonimous with Marathi Prant.'

[4] S. B. E., Vol. VII, p. 15.

[5] Shanti Parva, Ch. 87.

2. *Mutilation :*

Capital punishment was very seldom inflicted and mutilation was almost unknown in the earlier days of the Maratha empire. This punishment however became common under Nana Fadnavis. Among the papers of the second Madhava Rao have been preserved long lists of convicts condemned to lose their hands and feet. One of these lists enumerates the following sentences for theft :

Capital punishment	20 men
Right hand and left leg to be cut off ...	13 men
Right hand only to be cut off	18 men
Right hand and one ear to be cut off ...	4 men
Right hand and right leg to be cut off ...	1 man
One ear to be cut off	1 man

And one man was to be first paraded ludicrously dressed and then nailed to death. The same punishment was inflicted for causing grievous hurt. The Maratha government did not spare the relatives of thieves who were frequently thrown into prison. And convicts were asked to perform a Prayashchitta or religious penance over and above the corporal punishment they had already undergone.

Mutilation and execution are mentioned by Shukracharya among "various species of methods of punishment,"[*] but they were in use in still older times. We read in the Manu Samhita for instance, "If out of arrogance he spits (on a superior), the king shall cause both his lips to be cut off. If he lays hold of the hair (of a superior) let the king unhesitatingly cut off his hands."[1] The offences mentioned above were considered as assault, but mutilation has been recommended as an appropriate punishment for theft also by father Manu. "For stealing more than fifty palas it is enacted that the hands of the offender shall be cut off; but in other cases, let him inflict a fine of seven times the value. For stealing men of noble family and especially women and the most precious gems (the offender) deserves corporal (or capital) punishment. For stealing large animals, weapons, or medicines, let the king fix a punishment, after considering the time and the purpose (for which they were destined). For selling cows belonging to Brahmans, for piercing the nostrils of a barren cow and for stealing other cattle belonging to a Brahman the offender shall forthwith lose half his feet."[2] And finally the lawgiver lays down as a general principle: "with whatever limb a thief in any way commits (an offence) against men, even of that the king shall deprive him in order to prevent (a repetition of the crime."[9] Nor is Manu by any means the only legislator in favour of this horrible punishment. Vishnu also recommends the same punishment for assault and theft. According to him "with whatever limb an inferior insults or hurts his superior in caste, of that limb the king shall cause him to be deprived."[10] "He who has stolen a cow, a horse, or a camel, or an elephant, shall have one hand or one foot cut off. A stealer of gold, silver or clothes at a value of more than fifty Mashas shall lose both hands."[11] Mutilation as a form of punishment is mentioned in the Upaguptavadana and the Hasti-avadana of Bhodisattvavadanakalpalata.

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[*] S. B. H., p. 180.

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[1] S. B. E., Vol. XXV, pp. 303 & 304

[2] S. B. E., Vol. XXV, pp. 310 & 311.

3. Punishment of the offender's relatives :

If mutilation is an old form of punishment, the practice of arresting and imprisoning the relatives of thieves is no less old. Kautilya says, "Sons or wives of murderers and thieves shall, if they are found not in concert, be acquitted; but they shall be seized if found to have been in concert."[12] It is very difficult if not absolutely impossible, for sons and wives of thieves, to exculpate themselves from the charge of connivance with their fathers and husbands, as the presumption is always against them. The only result of this rule was that in Maratha days the wives and sons of thieves and other offenders were arrested and imprisoned as a matter of course. Sometimes the Maratha officers arrested the relatives of absconding offenders in order to induce them to come out of their hiding and surrender themselves.

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[9] S. B. E., Vol. XXV, p. 312.

[10] S. B. E., Vol. VII, p. 27.

S. B. E., Vol. VII, pp. 31 & 32.

[12] Kautilya, Arthashastra, p. 287.

4. Penance:

Let us now enquire why the Chhatrapatis and the Peshwas after them, deemed it incumbent on themselves to prescribe some religious penance for convicted offenders. The king was regarded as not only the chief magistrate, but also as the ecclesiastical head of the state, and regulator of social and religious customs and practices. "He shall protect the castes and orders," says Gautama, "in accordance with justice, and those who leave (the path of duty) he shall lead back (to it)."[13] Certain crimes made the offender an owtcast, and Vishnu tells us that "social intercourse with such criminals is also a high crime. He who associates with an outcast is outcasted himself after a year; and so is he who rides in the same carriage with him, or who eats in his company, or who sits on the same bench, or who lies on the same couch with him."[14] It is therefore clear that the Chhatrapatis and the Peshwas compelled the offender to undergo some religious penance in order to prevent the subversion of caste and order by contact with such offenders conscious or unconscious, intentional and unintentional. Moreover, it was the duty of the king, as Vashishtha tells us, to correct the evil-minded in every way.

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[13] S. B. E., Vol. III, p. 232

5. *Adultery:*

Adultery was another offence for which very severe punishment was inflicted on the female offender. In the year 1746 one Bhikaji Gauli and his paramour were fined one khandi of ghi. The next year the wife of a Muhammadan carter was sent to prison; and in 1755 a Koli woman, Randki by name, was condemned to slavery, but she was saved from this terrible fate at the prayer of her kinsmen and was let off with a fine of Rupees fifty only. A fine of five hundred Rupees was inflicted on one Shankraji Chauhan for committing adultery in the year 1755-56; a girl was actually sold in slavery for failing to rise above the hankering of the flesh.[15] Under the administration of the elder Madhava Rao, it was decided that adultery with a willing woman deserted by her husband was no offence at all,[16] but in two ordinary cases imprisonment was the punishment inflicted.[17] In the year 1781-82 an adulteress, Ahili by name, was set at liberty after her nose had been cut off, while the male offender was let off with a fine only. A few years later another woman was released from prison on her father standing surety for her good conduct.[18]

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[14] S. B. E., Vol. VII, p. 133.

[15] Peshwas' Diaries, Balaji Baji Rao, Vol. II, pp. 66-68.

Let us now enquire how far these punishments had the sanction of the old lawgivers, or to what extent they were the inevitable corollary of the regulations laid down by them.

Kautilya recommends three punishments for adultery. When any "person abets a thief or an adulterer, he as well as the woman who voluntarily yields herself for adultery shall have their ears and nose cut off or pay each a fine of 500 panas, while the thief or the adulterer shall pay double the above fine."[19] In a subsequent chapter dealing with sexual intercourse, Kautilya lays down, that "A woman who, of her own accord, yields herself to a man shall be slave to the king."[20] Again, "A relative or a servant of an absentee husband may take the latter's wife of loose character under his own protection. Being under such protection, she shall wait for the return of her husband. If her husband, on his return, entertains no objection, both the protector and the woman shall be acquitted. If he raises any objection, the woman shall have her ears and nose cut off, while her keeper shall be put to death as an adulterer."[21] It is therefore clear that Ahili would have lost her nose, and the Koli girl would have been the king's slave like many of their fellow criminals even if they had been tried by a Mauryan court instead of a Maharashtra Nyayadhish. It should be noted at the same time that the principle laid down by Madhava Rao I had the approval of Kautilya who says "Those women who have been rescued from the hands of thieves, from floods, in famine, or in national calamities, or who, having been abandoned, missed, or thrown out as if dead in forests, have been taken home may be enjoyed by the rescuer as agreed upon."[22] Narada is more explicit on this point. "A man is not punishable," says he, "as an adulterer for having intercourse with the wife of one who has left his wife without her fault, or of one impotent or consumptive, if the woman herself consents to it."[23] In the case above referred to, the woman had been abandoned by her husband and would have died of starvation, but for the food and shelter afforded to her by the man in question, and evidently she had given her consent.

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[16] Peshwas' Diaries, Madhava Rao I, Vol. II, p. 209.

[17] *Ibid*, p. 210.

[18] Peshwas' Diaries, Madhava Rao, II, Vol. III, p. 108.

[19] Arthashastra, pp. 284-85. [20] Arthashastra, p. 290.

[21] Arthashastra, p. 291. [22] Arthashastra, p. 292.

[23] S. B. E., Vol. XXXIII, p. 177.

Slavery and imprisonment of an adulteress was perhaps the direct consequence of a regulation of Apastamba which says, "If a young man has had intercourse with a marriageable girl, his property shall be confiscated and he shall be banished. Afterwards the king must support such women and damsels, and protect them from defilement. If they agree to undergo the prescribed penance he shall make them over to their (lawful) guardians."[24] It goes without saying that when the king was expected to protect them, he should keep them under strict guard and watch, and as he had to support them, he should in his turn exact some work from these unfortunate women. The Marathas kept them in hill-forts and made them work there, the last portion of Apastamba's regulation however indirectly authorises the state to hand over a misled daughter to her father (lawful guardian) when the latter makes himself responsible for her moral welfare (stands surety for her future good conduct).

Manu's punishment for this not unnatural offence was very horrible indeed. "If a wife, proud of the greatness of her relatives or her own excellence, violates the duty which she owes to her lord, the king shall cause her to be devoured by dogs in a place frequented by many."[25] We do not know whether this law was ever put into practice by the ancient Hindus, it was not in use in the Maratha days. Though the Peshwas on some rare occasions condemned a troublesome rebel to be trampled to death by an infuriated elephant, we do not know any instance of a misguided woman being thrown to hungry dogs.

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[24] S. B. E., Vol. II, p. 163.

[25] S. B. E., Vol. XXV, p. 319.

Another punishment which Manu recommends for "a woman who pollutes a damsel"[26] also deserves our notice, as a similar punishment has been prescribed by Vashishtha for the adulteress herself. "If a Shudra approaches a female of the Brahman caste," Vashishtha lays down, "the king shall cause the Shudra to be tied up in Virana grass and shall throw him into a fire. He shall cause the head of the Brahmani to be shaved and her body to be anointed with butter; placing her naked on a black donkey, he shall cause her to be conducted along the high road."[27] King Brahmadatta of Benares had inflicted this punishment on his unfaithful queen Soshumba, as we read in the Devavataravadana of Kshemendra's Bodhisattvavadanakalpalata. It was, however, not in general use when the Marathas established their sway in the Deccan.

6. *Slaves :*

We have read of slavery as a punishment for adultery. Let us now enquire into the rights of slaves and the law of manumission. According to Manu, "a slave cannot have any property, the wealth he earns belongs to his master."[28] In Maratha days a slave could not only earn on his own account but he could inherit property; in fact slaves were often permitted to purchase their liberty.[29] But the Maratha practice, though contrary to the codes of Manu, had the authoritative support of Chanakya who says, "A slave shall be entitled to enjoy not only whatever he has earned without prejudice to his master's work, but also the inheritance he has received from his father."[30] Marriage of a female slave under the Maratha law was equivalent to her manumission, and Kautilya lays down almost the same principle when he writes, "When a child is begotten on a female slave by her master, both the child and its mother shall at once be recognised as free."[31] The Marathas only went a step further, they liberated their female slaves, whether these were married at their own instance or otherwise, with free men or fellow slaves.

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[26] S. B. E., Vol. XXV, p. 318. [27] S. B. E., Vol. XIVI, p. 109.

7. *Procedure in a civil suit* :

Civil suits were, in the first instance, tried by a Panchayet or a court of arbitration consisting of village elders. The origin of such courts can be traced to the regulations of Narada, Brihaspati and Shukracharya. "Gathering (kula), corporations (shreni), assemblies (gana), one appointed by the king and the king (himself) are invested with power to decide law suits."[32] Brihaspati was of opinion that "Cultivators, artizans (such as carpenters or others), artists, moneylenders, companies of (tradesman), dancers, persons wearing the token of religious order (such as Pasupatas), and robbers should adjust their disputes according to the rules of their own profession. And relatives, companies (of artizans), assemblies (of co-habitants) and other persons duly authorised by the king, should decide lawsuits among men, excepting causes concerning violent crimes."[33] The judicial authority of shrenis, kulas and ganas is acknowledged by Shukra also.[34] It is clear that the Maratha Panchayet was not quite identical with kulas (families), ganas (communities) and shrenis (corporations), but it is not impossible that it was from this prescriptive right of these corporate bodies of old, that the Maratha village community, a corporate body in itself, derived its judicial powers, which was exercised by the Panchayet, subject to the sanction of the state as in the old Hindu days. Brihaspati's assemblies of co-habitants seems to be more akin to, if not the actual prototype of, the village Panchayet.

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[28] S. B. E., Vol. XXV, p. 326.

[29] Broughton, Letters written in a Maratha Camp.

[30] Kautilya, Arthashastra, p. 232.

[31] Arthashastra, p. 233.

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[32] Narada, S. B. E., XXXIII, pp. 6 and 7.

[33] S. B. E., Vol. XXXIII, p. 280.

[34] Shukranitisara, S. B. H., p. 185.

The plaintiff is called Purvavadi in Marathi documents and the defendant is styled as Uttarvadi. This naturally reminds one of Purvapaksha and Uttarapaksha of the Shukranitisara,[35] which however stood for the plaint and the answer. The plaintiff first submitted a written statement and the defendant then submitted his own version of the case in writing. Then evidence was heard and judgment delivered. Finally the losing party had to execute a deed called Jayapatra or Yejitkhat in favour of the winner. This is the procedure recommended by the old law-givers. Narada lays down, that "the claimant, after having produced a pledge the value of which has been well ascertained, shall cause the plaint to be written. The defendant immediately after having become acquainted with the tenor of the plaint, shall write down his answer, which must correspond to the tenor of the plaint."[36] Brihaspati says, "The part called the declaration, the part called the answer, the part called the trial, and the part called the deliberation of the judges regarding the *onus probandi*: these are the four parts of the judicial proceeding. The plaint is called the first part, the answer is the second part, the trial is the third part, and the judgment is the fourth part."[57]

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[35] S. B. H., p. 196.

[36] S. B. E., Vol. XXXIII, p. 24.

The practice of granting a Jayapatra to the winner was well known when Shukra compiled his work on polity, as will appear from his description of the document. "A Jayapatra," says he, "is one that contains an account of the case or suit brought forward, arguments for and against and also the decision." Every student of the Maratha administrative system knows that this is equally true of Marathi Jayapatras or Yejitkhats.

8. *Evidence* :

Let us now enquire how far the old rules about evidence were adhered to in the Maratha courts. In boundary disputes and suits about proprietorship, the evidence of the village officers of the artisans or Balutas and the officers of the neighbouring villages was mainly relied on. This law is at least as old as the Maurya Empire. We read in Kautilya's Arthashastra, "In all disputes regarding the boundary between any two villages neighbours or elders of five or ten villages shall investigate the case on the evidence to be furnished from natural or artificial boundary marks. Elders among cultivators and herdsmen, or outsiders who have had the experience of former possession in the place, or one or many persons (not) personally acquainted with the boundary marks under dispute, shall first describe the boundary marks and then wearing unusual dress shall lead the people to the place. Disputes concerning fields shall be decided by the elders of the neighbourhood or of the village. All kinds of disputes shall depend for their settlement on the evidence to be furnished by the neighbours."[38] Manu held that "witnesses from neighbouring villages should be called to give evidence in a boundary dispute on failure of witnesses from the two villages."[39] According to Narada "In all quarrels regarding landed property or boundaries, the decision rests with the neighbours, the inhabitants of the same town or village (the other) members of the same community, and the senior inhabitants of the District. As also with those living outside on the outskirts of the village and who live by the tillage of the fields situated in those parts and with herdsmen, bird-catchers, hunters and other inhabitants of the woods. These men shall determine the boundary."[40] Brihaspati says, "in a dispute regarding a house or field, the decision belongs, to the neighbours as well as to the inhabitants of that town or village, or to members of the same society, and to the elders (of that district). Likewise, to husbandmen, artisans, servants, cowherds, hunters, gleaners, diggers of roots, fishermen, kinsmen, mischiefmakers, and robbers."[41] The Balutas and Alutas fall under the artisans, cowherds, gleaners, etc. Shukracharya is more explicit on this point and his regulations had more direct resemblance with the Maratha practice. He was of opinion that "the documents of gifts, sale and purchase about immovable goods are valid only when approved by the receivers and having the Gramapas or village officers as witnesses." These regulations explain why village officers, artisans and elders from the neighbouring villages were called to give evidence in disputes about boundary and fields.

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[57] S. B. E., Vol. XXXIII, p. 289.

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[38] Kautilya, pp. 214-215.

[39] S.B.E., Vol. XXV, p. 300.

[40] S.B.E., Vol. XXXIII, pp. 155-156.

9. *Trial by ordeal:*

Brihaspati recommends a curious way of deciding a boundary dispute when no witness or reliable evidence was available. "In default of witnesses and signs, even a single man, agreeable to both parties, may fix the boundary, wearing a red garland of flowers and a red cloak, putting earth on his head adhering to truth, and having kept a fast."[42] A disputed boundary was fixed by a Patil of one of the contending villages, during the reign of Chhatrapati Shahu, not indeed with red garlands and red cloaks on and earth on his head, but he walked over the boundary with a cow's hide on his head and putting a garland of *tulsi* beads round his throat. This in fact was a decision by ordeal.

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[41] S.B.E., Vol. XXXIII, p. 352.

[42] S.B.E., Vol. XXXIII, p. 352.

Trial by ordeal was very popular in Southern India under the Maratha rule. Their various forms have already been described in Book II.[48] We shall now confine ourselves to an enquiry into their antiquity here.

Ordeal as a means of ascertaining truth has been in practice from very old times. Gledner suggests that ordeal by a red-hot axe is referred to in the Rig Veda. Griffith discovered in another passage of the Rig Veda reference to fire and water ordeals. According to Weber, Tula or the balance ordeal is referred to in the Satapatha Brahmana. Macdonnel and Keith do not agree with any of these scholars. Schlagintweit, Weber, Ludwig, Zimmer and others thought that fire ordeal was mentioned in the Atharva Veda, but Bloomfield and Whitney have disproved their contention. Macdonnel and Keith are of opinion that although the term *divya* or ordeal is not found in the Vedas proper, the practice is referred to in the Vedic literature, for instance in the Panchavimsha Brahmana and the Chhandogya Upanishad.[44]

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[48] Also see a very able paper by Mr. Bhaskar Vaman Bhat in the Bharat Itihas Sanshodhak Mandal's Tritiya Sammelan Vritta.

Father Manu provides for trial by ordeal. He says "The judge may cause the party to carry fire or to dive under water, of severally to touch the heads of his wives and children. He whom the blazing fire burns not, whom the water forces not to come quickly up, who meets with no speedy misfortune, must be held innocent on the strength of his oath. For formerly when Vatsa was accused by his younger brother, the fire, the spy of the world, burned not even a hair of his by reason of his veracity.[45] According to Apastamba, "In doubtful cases they shall give their decision after having ascertained the truth by inference, ordeal and the like means." [46] Vishnu not only recommends trial by ordeal but lays down detailed regulations about the performance of ordeal by balance, fire, water, and sacred libation, about the time of their performance as well as the case and the party to be tried by each of these ordeals.[47] Ordeals by balance, fire, water, poison and metal are recommended by Yajnavalkya.[48] He also lays down that an ordeal should be performed at sunrise in the presence of the king and Brahmans and after the party has performed a bath. Narada says, "Proof is said to be of two kinds, human and divine. Human proof consists of documentary and oral evidence. By divine proof is meant the ordeal by balance and the other (modes of divine test). Where a transaction has taken place by day, in a village or town, or in the presence of witnesses, divine test is not applicable.[49] Divine test is applicable (where the transaction has taken place) in a solitary forest, at night, or in the interior of a house, and in cases of violence or of denial of a deposit."[50] Brihaspati also recognised the two-fold division of evidence, human and divine. Divine test according to him was nine-fold.[51] Sukracharya testifies not only to the legality but also to the antiquity of trial by ordeal. He says "In the matter of decision of cases by the divya, fire, poison, vessel, water, virtue, and vice, rice and oaths—these are prescribed by the sages."[52] Ordeal by water is mentioned in the Padmavatyavadana of Bodhisattvavadankalpalata.

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[44] Macdonnel and Keith, Vedic Index, Vol. I, pp. 317, 318, 364-365.

[45] S.B.E., Vol. XXV, p. 274. [46] S.B.E., Vol. II, p. 168.

[47] S.B.E., Vol. VII, pp. 52-61.

[48] Tulāgnyāpo vishaṁ kosho divyānīha viśuddhaye.

Foreign travellers also testify to the popularity of trial by ordeal in India. The Chinese traveller Youan Chwang visited India during the seventh century A.D. He gives a detailed account of different forms of ordeal. He says,—

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[49] Compare Marathi 'Gohi āsta ravānāthi.'

[50] S.B.E., Vol XXXIII, pp. 30-31.

[51] S.B.E., Vol. XXXIII, p. 297.

[52] S.B.H., Shukra-nitisara, p. 204.

"These (ordeals) are by water, by fire, by weighing and by poison. In the water ordeal the accused is put in one sack and a stone in another, then the two sacks are connected and thrown into a deep stream; if the sack containing the stone floats and the other sinks the man's guilt is proven. The fire ordeal requires the accused to kneel and tread on hot iron to take it in his hands and lick it, if he is innocent he is not hurt, but he is burnt if he is guilty. In the weighing ordeal the accused is weighed against a stone; and if the latter is lighter the charge is false, if otherwise it is true. The poison ordeal requires that the right hind leg of a ram be cut off, and according to the portion assigned to the accused to eat, poisons are put into the leg, and if the man is innocent he survives, and if not the poison takes effect." [53]

The celebrated Muhammadan astronomer Abu Rihan Alberuni accompanied Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni to India on one of his several expeditions and has left an interesting account of the manners and customs of the Hindus as he saw them. He mentions ordeal by water, libation water, balance, heated metal and fire. [54] Trials by ordeal have been mentioned in several South Indian inscriptions, as Lewis Rice tells us, "The earliest method consisted in the accused making oath in the presence of the god holding at the same time the consecrated food. If guilty, it would choke him on partaking of it. Instances of this ordeal appear in 1241 and 1275. In the first the payment of some money was in question, the second was a boundary case. The ordeal of grasping a red-hot iron rod or bar in the presence of the god Hoyasaleshvara is recorded in 1309. A later form of ordeal was perhaps a severer test and consisted of making oath as before and then plunging the hand into boiling Ghi. If no injury resulted, the defendant won (his cause). Instances occur in 1580 and 1677."[55] Thus, the continuity of this practice has been established beyond doubt from the Vedic times to the first decade of the 19th century when the Maratha empire came to an end.

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[53] Watters, On Youan Chwang, Vol. I, p. 172.

[54] Sachau, Alburni's India, Vol. II, pp. 159-160.

It is also noteworthy how some of the most popular ordeals in the Maratha days conformed in every minute detail to the rules of the old sages. We read of one instance in which the ordeal consisted of a simple oath taken by touching Shahu's feet. This ordeal had the sanction of Shukra who says—"He has to touch the feet of superiors, * * or swear by the gods, 'let me be cursed with the burden of sins, let all my merits be extinguished."[56] The two most popular ordeals in the Maratha period were those by fire and heated metal, *agni-divya* and *rava*.

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[55] Lewis Rice, Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions, p. 177.

[56] S.B.H., p. 205.

Narada on Fire ordeal:

Let us now compare the Maratha practice with regard to these two ordeals with the regulations of Narada who has devoted a long chapter to ordeals. Says Narada, " I will propound next, the excellent law regarding ordeal by fire. The interval between every two circles is ordained to measure thirty-two Angulas. Thus the space covered by the eight circles will measure two hundred and fifty-six Angulas. He should place seven leaves (on his hands with seven threads). A professional blacksmith who has practice in working with fire, and whose skill has been tested on previous occasions, should be caused to heat the iron in fire. An iron ball fifty palas in weight having been repeatedly made fiery, sparkling and red-hot, a pure Brahman who reveres the truth should address it as follows. * * * This prayer having been carefully written on a leaf and recited he should fasten the leaf on his head, and after having done so, should then give him the iron ball. Having bathed and stepped into the space covered by the eight circles, he should seize the fiery ball, take his stand on one circle and walk slowly through the seven others. The man must not put it down again till he passed through the whole of the measured ground. On reaching the eighth circle, he may drop the fiery ball, * * In this way the ordeal by fire should always be performed. It is adapted for every season except summer and very cold weather. All sores and scars on his hands should be marked with signs previously, and one should examine the hands again afterwards (and look after) the dots with which the sores have been marked. If it does not appear whether (either of) the two hands is burnt, he shall take and seven times crush grains of rice in his hand, with all his might. The grains having been crushed by him, if the members of the court should declare him to be unburnt, he shall be honourably released as being innocent. If he is burnt he shall receive due punishment."[56]

We read the following account of an agni-divya in a Marathi document. "On Wednesday my hands were bandaged and sealed. The next day, Thursday, the aforesaid Pandit sat with the Brahmans, Watandars and men of note on the banks of the Godaveri, opened the bandage of my hands in the presence of the god, and had them rubbed with rice, and then they were washed. The signs on the two hands were all marked and an iron ball fifty palas or 168 tolas 2 mashas in weight was duly weighed and thrice heated in fire. They bound a *bhalapatra* on my forehead, placed seven *ashvathva* leaves on my hands and bound them with thread. Then they placed the ball on my hand and ordered me to walk over seven circles and drop the ball on the eighth. Accordingly I walked over the seven circles and dropped the ball on some grains which had been kept in the appointed place and the grains took fire. * * Then the aforesaid Pandit, and all the assembly inspected my hands and they were shown to Ganesh Dattaji. The hands were not even slightly burnt by fire. Then they again bandaged and sealed my hands and after two *prahars* of day and four *prahars* of night had elapsed they took me to the assembly on Friday (the Dvadashi) morning. The bandage was taken off and the aforesaid Pandit and the people assembled inspected the hands. Both the hands were shown to Ganesh Dattaji. No wound, not even one of the size of a sesame seed, was seen on the hand. The signs on the hands noted at the time of the ordeal were carefully compared, there was no difference whatever."[57] Almost all the details of Narada's regulations were carefully attended to in the abovementioned ordeal. In fact the old practice continued with very little variation. This conclusion will be further confirmed by a comparison between Alberuni's account of an ordeal by heated metal and a Marathi account of rava in an old Mahajar.[58] Trial by ordeal survived in Southern India till the downfall of the Marathas and it existed in a modified form in Travancore.[59]

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[56] S. B. E., Vol. XXXIII, pp. 108-111.

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[57] Watanpatra Nivadpatra, p. 51.

It is clear that many of the Maratha institutions were nothing but relics of the Hindu age.[60] How far these were transmitted by the Muhammadan rulers of India and how far they were revived by the Hindu kings has yet to be ascertained. No one, who has read Persian *farmans* can be blind to their striking resemblance with Marathi documents of similar nature. Eventually it may be found that the Marathas were not a little indebted to their Muhammadan rulers for their civil and military institutions. Whatever might have been the extent of their indebtedness, whether they improved upon the system they had inherited or whether they were mere blind imitators, the continuity of the indigenous system cannot be denied. The contribution of the Muhammadans to this interesting evolution is certainly worth studying.

[58] Watanpatra Nivadapatra, Ed. Parasnis and Mawji, p. 7.

[59] Drury, Life and Sports in Southern India, pp. 66, 69 and 70.

[60] Even the practice of *Dharna* had the sanction of the old *Dharma Shastras* as Professor Washburton Hopkins has pointed out. See *Cambridge History of India*, Vol., I.

APPENDICES

A

The Arabs in Sind (*Book III*)

"The toleration which the native Sindians enjoyed in the practice of their religion, was greater than what was usually conceded in other countries; but it was dictated less by any principle of justice or humanity, than the impossibility of suppressing the native religion by the small number of Arab invaders. When time had fully shown the necessity of some relaxation in the stern code of Moslim conquest, it was directed, that the natives might rebuild their temples and perform their worship, and that the three per cent., which had been allowed to the priests under the former government, should not be withheld by the laity for whom they officiated. Dahir's prime minister was also retained in office, in order to protect the rights of the people, and to maintain the native institutions; while Brahmans were distributed throughout the provinces to collect the taxes which had been fixed." *The History of India as told by its own Historians* by Sir H. M. Elliot and Professor John Dowson, Vol. I, pp. 468-469. Also see Elphinstone, *History of India*, pp. 302-303.

B

State Departments (*Book III*).

In the Panchobh copper-plate inscription of Samgramgupta, Superintendents of kine, buffaloes, goats and mares are mentioned *(gomahiṣābivaḍvādhyakṣādi)*. The inscription probably is not later than the 12th century A.D. See *Journal of the Bihar Orissa Research Society*, Vol. V, Part IV, p. 589.

C

Evolution of Marathi Danapatras (*Book III*).

Of the innumerable Marathi documents that have come down to us, not a few are grant deeds. They are worth studying not merely because they yield interesting information about the various taxes that the landholder had to pay but also because of the unbroken link with the past that they furnish in their style and form. Vishnu lays down the following rules to be observed in drawing up a grant deed or *Danapatra* "To those upon whom he had bestowed (land) he must give a document, destined for the information of a future ruler, which must be written upon a piece of (cotton) cloth, or a copper plate, and must contain the names of his (three) immediate ancestors, a declaration of the extent of the land, and an imprecation against him who should appropriate the donation to himself, and should be signed with his own seal."[1] Let us reproduce a Danapatra of Chhatrapati Shahu and see how far the writer conformed to the above rules. The document runs as follows: Vedamūrti Gaṇeśbhaṭ wa Bāḷaṁbhaṭ bin Bāpūbhaṭ upanām Puraṅdare, gotra Bhāradvāj, sūtra Aśvalāyan, vāstavya Kasbe Sāsvaḍ, yṅāṇī ṅ huzūr Śāhūnagarānajīk kille Sātāra yethīl mukkāmīṅ svāmīsaṅnidh yeūn vidit keleṅ kīn, kailāsvāsī Bāḷājī Paṅḍit Pradhān yāṅṇīṅ āhṁāṅs Mauje Khānvaḍī, Tarph Karhepṭhār, Prānt Puṇeṅ, yethīl jirāyat jamīn uttam pratīchī chāvar ¼. yekūṇ bighe tīs svarājya wa moṅgalāī yekūṇ dutarphā dekhīl inām tijāī wa sardeśmukhī kulbāb wa kulkānū, hallīpaṭṭī wa pestarpaṭṭī, jal taru, tṛṇa, kāṣṭha, pāṣāṇ, nidhinikṣepsahit kherīj hakkadār karūn inām deūn Mauje majkūrchyā dastāṅt bād ghālūn patreṅ dilhīṅ tyāpramāṇeṅ anbhavīt āhoṅ. Tarī, Mahārājānīṅ sadarhūpramāṇeṅ inām karār karūn hallīṅ nūtan sahotrā wa nāḍgauṅḍī inām deūn vaṅśa paraṁpareneṅ chālavāveṅ yāviśīṅ patreṅ karūn dilhīṅ pāhijet hmaṇūn vidit karūn Panḍit maśārnilhe yāṅchīṅ patreṅ āṇūn dākhavilī. Tyāvarūn manās āṇūn he bhale brāhmaṇ satpātra snānsaṅdhyādi ṣaṭkarmī nirata yāṅcheṅ chālaviliyā svāmīs wa svāmīche rājyās śreyaskar aiseṅ jāṇūn

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[1] S.B.E., Vol. VII, pp. 21-22.

svāmī yāṅjvarī kṛpālū hoūn yāṅsī Paṇḍit maśārnilhe yāṅṇīṅ Mauje majkūrpaikīṅ jirāyat uttam pratīchī jamīn chāvar pāv ekūṇ tīs bighe svarājya wa moṅglāī ekūṇ dutarphā darobasta inām tijāī wa sardeśmukhi hallīpaṭṭī wa pestarpaṭṭī kul bāb wa kulkānū jal, taru, tṛṇa, kāṣṭha pāṣāṇ, nidhinikṣepsahit kherīj hakkadār vaṅśaparaṁpareṇeṅ inām dilhā. Tyāpramāṇeṅ karār karūn hallīṅ nūtan sadarīl jaminīs sahotrā wa nāḍgauṅḍī yāsī wa yāṅche vaṁśaparaṁpareṇeṅ inām karūn dilhā yeviśīṅ dharmaśāstrāchīṇ vachaneṅ.

Svadattāṅ paradattāṅ vā yo harechcha vasuṅdharāṅ. Saṣṭhivarṣa sahasrāṇi viṣṭāyāṅ jāyate kṛmi. Svadattā duhitā bhūmi pitṛdattā sahodarī. Anyadattā bhavenmātā yo haret triṣu saṅgamī. Dānapalānayormadhye dānāt śreyo nu pālanaṁ. Dānāt svargamavāpnoti pālanādachyutaṁ padaṁ. Yeṇeṅpramāṇeṅ dharmaśāstrāchīṅ vachaneṅ yukta patren karūn dilhīṅ āhet tarī tuhmīṅ Mauje majkūrpaikīṅ sadarhūpramāṇeṅ pāvchāvar jamīn chatuḥśimā pūrvak yāsī wa yāṅche vaṁśapraṁpareṇeṅ inām chālavaṇeṅ Prativarṣīṅ novīn patrāchā ākṣep na karṇeṅ. Patreṅ Rājyābhiṣek śake 90 Subhānu nāma saṁvatsare Aśvina śhuddha paṅchamī Bhāumavāsara yeviśīṅ patreṅ.

2. Sanadipatreṅ (1 Mukhypatra, 1 Mokadam).

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[1] Selections from the Satara Raja's and the Peshwas Diaries. Vol. I, pp 205 and 208.

3. Chitṇiśī (1 Deśmukh Deśpāṇḍe, 1 Deśādhikārī 1 Rājaśrī Mādhavarāv Paṅḍit Pradhān) ekūṇ 5.

Kārkīrd Rājaśrī Madhavarāv Paṅḍit Pradhān Sātāriyās tyāche tarphenen Gaṇeś Viṭhṭhal yāche kārkīrdīs śikke jāle. Paravāngī Vyaṅkājīpaṅt."

It is to be noted that in the above grant deed the extent of the land has been defined, an imprecation against him who should appropriate the donation has been inserted, and the grant deed has been sealed in conformity with the regulations of Vishnu. In some Marathi Danapatra the Sanskrit imprecation is substituted by a Marathi one, which threatens the appropriator of the land with the sin of cow-slaughter if he is a Hindu and the infamy of killing a pig if he is a Muhammadan.

This, however, is not all. The phrase "hallī paṭṭī va pestarpaṭṭī kulbāb va kulkānu jal taru, tṛṇa, kāṣṭha, pāṣāṇ, nidhinikṣep sahit kherīj hakkadār" demands our special notice as it has been in use in donatory deeds for centuries before the rise of Shivaji or the accession of Shahaji to power. It may also be added that in many Marathi grant deeds (that we need not quote *in extenso*) the act of donation is described as dhārāika or dhārādatta which corresponds to the latter part of the Sanskrit phrase sasuvarṇadhārā pūrāakaṁ of the pre-Maratha copperplate grants. As for the other phrase which we have quoted above let us see how frequently it occurs in South Indian copper-plate grants, we may dismiss the North Indian practice as comparatively less important as we are discussing here the evolution of South Indian grant deeds.

Maharashtra proper had been formerly ruled by the Chalukyas, the Rashtrakutas, the Shilahras and the Yadavas. It is from the Yadava kings of Devgiri that the Muhammadans first conquered the land of the Marathas. We shall therefore examine the copper-plate grants of these four families and compare the terms of grant with those of the grant deeds of Shahu Chhatrapati already referred to. A grant deed executed by Govinda III Rashtrakuta in 716 of the Shaka era[3] defines the grant as sodraṁgaḥ saparikaraḥ sadaśāparādhaḥ sabhūtapātapratyāyaḥ sotpadyamānari (vī) shṭikaḥ sadhānyahiraṇyādeyo chachā (chā)ṭabhāṭapraveśyaḥ sarvvarājakīyānām ahastaprakṣh(e)paṇiya. The terms of the Kauthem grant of Vikramaditya V. of the later Chalukya dynasty[4] is more similar to the terms of the Marathi Sanad. They are: Savṛkshamālākulaḥ sadhānyahiraṇyādeyaḥ rājakīya(nā)m anaṁguli prekṣhaṇiyaḥ nidhi nidhāna sametaḥ ghaṭikāchchhatrachāmarādisahitaḥ saśukl(aka)ḥ sarvvanamasya iti.

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[3] Paithan plates of Govinda III, Kielhorn Ep. Ind., Vol. III, p. 109.

[4] Fleet, Ind. Ant., Vol. XVI, p. 24.

In the Kharepatan plates of Rattaraja (Shilahar)[5] it is recorded that a village in the Ratnagiri District was granted to the king's preceptor, Abhoja Sambhu, and the grant is defined as pūrvvadattta devadāya vra (bra) hmadāya varjjaṁ which corresponds to Marathi kherīj hakkadār karūṇ. Another donation of a Shilahara king, Bhoja II, by name[6] was dhārāpūrvvakaṁ analogous to Marathi dhārāika or dhārādatta and the terms of the grant are sarvva bādhā parihāraṁ sarvva-āya-viśuddhaṁ rājakīyānām anaṁguli prekshṣṇiyam. These show that some of the terms we came across in Shahu's Sanad were already in use when the Rashtrakuta Chalukya and Shilahara princes inscribed those donatory plates. Let us now examine the copper plate inscriptions of the Yadavas and the Hindu-monarchs of Vijayanagar who in some respects can be regarded as the immediate Hindu predecessors of the Maratha kings of the house of Bhonsla.

About the year 922 of the Shaka era (or 1000 A. D.) Mahasamanta Bhillama II granted certain lands to twenty-one Brahmans and the fact is thus recorded in the Sangamner copper plate inscription[7]:

. Evamīshāṁ dvijānāṁ pitṛpaitāmahopārjjitaṁ Matulingītaṭsamāvāsitaṁ Arjjuṇoḍhikāgrāmaṁ tathā Laghuarjjuṇoḍhigrāma Laghu vavvula-vedagarāma (dv) yābhyaṁtaraṁ savṛksha-mālākulaṁ chāchatuḥsīmāparyantaṁ sāshṭādaśa prakṛtyopetaṁ vāpīkūpataḍāgārāmasahitaṁ satṛṇakā (sṭha) pāshāṇopetaṁ sa (sa) kala samastopetaṁ, etc.

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[5] Kielhorn, Ep. Ind., Vol. III, p. 301.

[6] Kolhapur Inscription, Kielhorn, Ep. Ind., Vol. III, pp. 213-216.

[7] Kielhorn, Ep. Ind. Vol., II, p. 220.

The first couplet of the Sanskrit imprecatory verse also is inserted in this inscription. In fact innumerable illustrations of this last practice may be given from old Indian donatory inscription as is well known to all students of Indian History. In the Kalas Budrukh plates of Bhillama III (Shaka year 948),[9] we read that the gift was made to twenty Brahmans with great honour and water in hand—hastodakaṁ kṛtvā and the terms also are strikingly similar to those of the Maratha Danapatras. They run as follows:—Sasīmā-paryaṁtaṁ savṛkshamālākulaṁ satṛṇa kāshṭhaṁ sa prabhṛti-kānuka-vishaya-āśrayaṁ sarid-vāpī-kūpa-kūpikā-taḍāga-dīrghikā-jalasthala-khanyākara-mṛdvanaushadhi-prāśāda -gopur-opetaṁ sarvvāyasthāna-sahitaṁ namasyama kara-vāṭottaraṁ putra pautrādyanvy-opabhogyam achāṭa-bhāṭa praveśam pūrvva datta dvijadāyadevadāya varjjaṁ vasad bhojya vṛittiṁ Kalasa nāmanaṁ grāmaṁ pradadau, of course with the usual imprecation. The Gaddak inscriptions of Viraballala deva of Hayasala dynasty [10] records the gift of the village Hombalalu to Chaddrabhushan Panditadeva (Shaka year 1114) with—nidhinikṣhepa jalapāshāṇārāmādi sahitaṁ tribhogyābhyṁtaramaṣṭabhogateshja (jaḥ) svāmyayuktaṁ śulkadaṁḍādi sakala dravyopārjjanopetaṁ, etc. It is needless to multiply these instances. Let us only quote another Yadava inscription that of Rama Chandra Deva the last king of the dynasty. A grant of Rama Chandra Deva Yadava dated 1212 śaka or 1291 A.D., records that "under the orders of Shri Rama Sri Krishna Deva governs the whole province of the Konkan. For the sake of causing the prolongation of Shri Ram Chandra Deva's life, etc., he giveth to Brahmans,—with gold and water, the village of Anjora—with its hamlets limited to its proper bounds with its grass, timber, water and forest trees mines and hidden treasures together with the land marks"—Pallīsahitaḥ svasīmāparyaṁtaḥ tṛṇakāshṭhodakopetaḥ savṛkshamālākulaḥ nidhi nikṣhepasahitaḥ chaturāghāṭopetaḥ hiraṇyodaka pūrvvakaṁ pradattaḥ.[19] This certainly reads like Shahu's Daṇapatra quoted above.

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[9] Ind. Ant., Vol. XVII, p. 121.

[10] Fleet, Ind. Ant., Vol. II, p. 301.

It may however be objected that between the fall of the Yadavas of Devgiri in the earlier part of the 14th century and the rise of Shivaji in the middle of the 17th, there is an interval of about two hundred and fifty years. But in the meantime the style and the form of these grant deeds were continued in the Deccan by the Hindu kings of Vijayanagar. The Nallur grant of Harihara II [11] runs as :

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[19] J.R.A.S., Vol. V, p. 182.

Vṛitti dvādaśasaṁyuktaṁ tamimaṁgrāmam uttamaṁ sarvamānyaṁ chatussīmāsaṁyutam cha samaṁtataḥ nidhi nikṣhepa pāṣhāṇa sidhdha (sā) dya jalānvataṁ.

Akṣhānyāṇāgāmisaṁyu (ktaṁ A) ṣhṭabho (gyaṁ) subhūtidaṁ vāpīkūpataṭākaiścha kachchhāramaiścha śobhitaṁ putra pautrādibhirbhogyaṁ kramā (d) āchaṁdra tārakam.

Almost the same phrases are repeated in the Satyamangalam plates of Deva Raya II (dated 1484 A.D.),[12] and the Krishnapura inscription of Krishna Raya (dated 1529).[13] The kingdom of Vijayanagar came to an end in 1565 when Ramaja was defeated and slain at Talikota near Raichur but a branch of the family known as the Karnata dynasty survived till 1664.[14] Lands were given to Brahmans and grant deeds were executed in their favour by minor Hindu chiefs in Maharashtra. Some of these pre-Shivaji Sanads have come down to us and they fully explain the continuity of the form and style of these grant deeds for a period of about ten centuries. This in short is the history of the evolution of the innumerable Marathi grant deeds that the labours of Sane, Rajwade, and Parasnis have made familiar to-day to every student of Maratha history.

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[11] V. Venkayya, Ep. Ind., Vol. III, p. 123.

[12] E. Hultzsch, Ep. Ind., Vol. III, p. 38.

[13] Hultzsch, Ep. Ind., Vol. I, p. 400.

[14] Rice, Mysore and Coorg, p. 120.

കേരള സാഹിത്യ അക്കാദമി

BOOK IV

EVOLUTION OF THE MARATHA INSTITUTIONS

THE MUHAMMADAN CONTRIBUTION

കേരള സാഹിത്യ
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CHAPTER I

REVENUE PRINCIPLES

1. Non-interference of Muhammadan Rulers :

In the preceding book, an attempt has been made to point out the intimate relation between the actual practices of the Maratha Government and the theories laid down by old Hindu political thinkers. It has been fairly established that the Maratha administrative institutions had been evolved from their ancient Hindu prototypes. But the part played by the Muhammadan rulers of India in this interesting evolution was by no means insignificant. For centuries they had governed the land and had given the administration the shape in which the Marathas inherited it from them. The vast kingdom of Vijayanagar had come to an end before the rise of Shivaji, and although the Hindu system of administration still survived in many of the petty Hindu States of the South, it would have been altogether impossible for Shivaji and his successors to revive the old Hindu institutions, had they been quite extinct in the hilly district, that formed the nucleus of the Maratha empire and had once been an integral part of the Bahmani Kingdom. Like the present rulers of the Bombay Presidency the Muhammadan conquerors of the Deccan did not aim at an administrative revolution. They kept the system they found in existence at the time of their conquest practically intact, but made a change here and an addition there to suit their taste and the theories they had inherited from Muslim theologians. When, therefore, the Hindu Padshahi was founded by Shivaji he had to follow in the footsteps of his Musulman predecessors and continue their policy of conservation and reform. So the evolution went on unchecked and people could hardly perceive any change in the main theories and principles of their Government. Maratha Subhedars replaced Muhammadan Subhedars, and the Maratha Chhatrapati occupied the position of the Muhammadan Sultan; but the revenue was still paid in Muhammadan coins, the revenue terms were still Persian, the sanads and instructions issued to Revenue collectors were mere translation of Persian farmans of the Muhammadan rulers.

We have before us the financial theories of old Hindu law-givers, but the principles laid down by them had been embodied by Muhammadan rulers in their instructions to Revenue officers. The Marathas simply continued the same form, the same terms and almost the same language in their appointment letters. Thus the survival of the old Hindu principles was due to the Muhammadans, and the Marathas in their turn helped the survival of the Muhammadan forms and practices.

2. *Abul Fazl on the Duties of a Revenue Collector :*

The whole process will be evident from a comparison of a Persian farman and a Marathi sanad so far as the revenue principles were concerned. We have already seen how the old Hindu political philosophers had advocated concessions for cultivation of waste lands, financial help at the time of distress and humane and considerate treatment of the cultivators. These very principles had been strongly emphasised when Abul Fazl enumerated the duties of an ideal Revenue Collector. "The Collector of the Revenue," says he, "should be a friend of the agriculturist. Zeal and truthfulness should be his rule of conduct * * * He should not cease from punishing highway robbers, murderers and evil-doers, nor from heavily mulcting them, and so administer that the cry of complaint shall be stilled. He should assist the needy husbandman with advances of money and recover them gradually. * * * He should ascertain the extent of the soil in cultivation and weigh each several portion in the scales of personal observation and be acquainted with its quality. The agricultural value of land varies in different districts and certain soils are adapted to certain crops. He should deal differently, therefore, with each agriculturist and take his case into consideration. He should take into account with discrimination the engagements of former collectors and remedy the procedure of ignorance or dishonesty. He should strive to bring waste lands into cultivation and take heed that what is in cultivation fall not waste. He should stimulate the increase of valuable produce and remit somewhat of the assessment with a view to its augmentation. * * * He should be just and provident in his measurements. Let him increase the facilities of the husbandman year by year, and under the pledge of his engagements, take nothing beyond the actual area under tillage."[1] Abul Fazl also recommends the employment of able and honest inspectors and surveyors to help the Revenue Collector in the work of assessment.[2]

3. *Farmans and Sanads :*

These were the principles that the Muhammadan Emperors endeavoured to enforce ; they were never tired of repeating them in every farman they issued to their Revenue officers. Two such farmans have been translated by Prof. Jadunath Sarkar in his *Studies in Mughal India*[3] and though the documents are very lengthy, their intrinsic interest and value will fully justify the quotation of some extracts from them. After the usual preamble, it is laid down—"That officers of the present and future and *'amils* of the Empire of Hindusthan from end to end, should collect the revenue and other [dues] from the *mahals* in the proportion and manner fixed in the luminous Law and shining orthodox Faith, and [according to] whatever has been meant and sanctioned in this gracious mandate in pursuance of the correct and trustworthy Traditions,—

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[1] Aini-Akbari, Jarrett, Vol. II, pp. 43, 44.

[2] *Ibid*, p. 45.

And they should not demand new orders every year, and should consider delay and transgression as the cause of their disgrace in this world and the next.

First.—They should practise benevolence to the cultivators, inquire into their condition, and exert themselves judiciously and tactfully, so that [the cultivators] may joyfully and heartily try to increase the cultivation, and every arable tract may be brought under tillage.

Second.—At the beginning of the year inform yourself, as far as possible, about the condition of every ryot, as to whether they are engaged in cultivation or are abstaining from it. If they can cultivate, ply them with inducements and assurances of kindness; and if they desire favour in any matter show them that favour. But if after inquiry it is found that, in spite of their being able to till and having had rainfall, they are abstaining from cultivation, you should urge and threaten them and employ force and beating. Where the revenue is fixed proclaim to the peasants that it will be realised from them whether they cultivate the land or not. If you find that the peasants are unable to procure the implements of tillage, advance to them money from the State in the form of *taqavi* after taking security.

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[3] Pp. 168-196.

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Sixth.— * * fix such an amount that the ryots may not be ruined.

Seventh.—You may change fixed revenue into share of crop, or *vice versa*, if the ryots desire it; otherwise not.

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Ninth.—In lands subject to fixed revenues, if any non-preventable calamity overtakes a sown field, you ought to inquire carefully, and grant remission to the extent of the calamity, as required by the truth and the nature of the case. And in realising revenue in kind from the remnant, see that a net one-half [of the produce] is left to the ryots.

* * * *

Fourteenth.—Concerning lands under fixed revenue: If a man builds a house on his land he should pay rent as fixed before; and the same thing if he plants on the land trees without fruits. If he turns an arable land, on which revenue was assessed, for cultivation into a garden, and plants fruit trees on the whole tract without leaving any open spaces [fit for cultivation], take Rs. $2\frac{3}{4}$, which is the highest revenue for gardens, although the trees are not yet bearing fruit. But in the case of grape and almond trees, while they do not bear fruit take the customary revenue only, and after they have begun to bear fruit, take Rs. $2\frac{3}{4}$, provided that the produce of one canonical *bigha*, which means 45×45 ShahJahani yards, or 60×60 canonical yards, amounts to Rs. $5\frac{1}{2}$ or more.

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Fifteenth.—If any man turns his land into a cemetery or *serai* in endowment, regard its revenue as remitted.

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Eighteenth.—In *muqasema* lands, if any calamity overtakes the crop, remit the revenue to the amount of the injury. And if the calamity happens after reaping the grain or before reaping, gather revenue on the portion that remains safe."

This farman was addressed to Muhammad Hashim, Dewan of Gujrat, in the 11th year of Emperor Aurangzib 'Alamgir. The document is so lengthy that it has not been possible to quote it in full with all the items and the commentaries. The second document translated by Prof. Sarkar was addressed to one Rasikdas. This officer is ordered to make a detailed enquiry about the condition of cultivation in the districts under his charge and the document reads almost like the concluding portion of Annaji Datto's circular letter quoted in Book I. The Emperor orders, "You should inquire into the real circumstances of every village in the *parganahs* under your *diwans* and *amins*, namely, what is the extent of the arable land in it? What proportion of this total is actually under cultivation, and what portion not? What is the amount of the full crop every year? What is the cause of those lands lying uncultivated? Also find out, what was the system of revenue collection in the reign of Akbar under the diwani administration of Tudar Mal? Is the amount of the *sair* cess the same as under the old regulations, or was it increased at His Majesty's accession? How many *mauzas* are cultivated and how many desolate? What is the cause of the desolation? After inquiring into all these matters, exert yourself to bring all arable lands under tillage, by giving correct agreements (*qaul*) and proper promises, and to increase the first-rate crops. Where there are disused wells, try to repair them, and also to dig new ones. And assess their revenue in such a way that the ryots at large may get their dues and the Government revenue may be collected at the right time and no ryot may be oppressed."

Rasikdas is further enjoined to make local enquiry through his *amils* as to the condition of the cultivation and to take a statistics of cultivators and ploughs, encourage the cultivator to increase the sowing and the extent of cultivation and to improve the quality of the produce, to make the amils work hard in order to induce the runaway peasants to return, to gather cultivators from all sides by offering them various inducements and to devise means for the reclamation of waste lands.[4] The outstanding arrears were to be realised by instalments "according to the condition of the ryots."[5] The exaction of prohibited *abwabs* was to be checked and prevented.[6] And finally the papers of the records were to be gathered at the right time.[7]

The Marathas were no rivals of the Mughals in their literary achievements, and their language did not permit the flowery style and pompous grandiloquence for which Persian literature is famous. It will be therefore futile to expect that the terms of a Marathi appointment letter should in every detail and word for word tally with the revenue regulations quoted above. The Marathi document is terse, succinct and brief and lacks the preamble and the ornate style of a Mughal *farman*, but a close comparison of the two leaves no doubt that the one was inspired by the other so far as the general revenue principles were concerned. In the appointment letter of Lakshman Bhikaji, Mamlatdar of Wan and Dindori, for instance, we find the following instructions laid down for his guidance :

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[4] Studies in Mughal India, p. 191.

[5] *Ibid*, p. 192.

[6] *Ibid*, p. 194.

[7] *Ibid*, p. 196.

1. The villages in the above-mentioned Parganas should be surveyed. The lands should be classed as superior, ordinary and inferior and also as jirayat and bagayat, patsthal and motsthal, and their area should be ascertained and the result should be reported to the Amin. The Amin should fix the rates to be charged and the assessment should be made accordingly.

2. The waste and fallow lands should be brought under cultivation within two or three years from the current year. If you fail to bring waste lands under cultivation, you will lose your appointment.

3. If any serious disturbance or rebellion takes place, remission of rent will be made according to the custom of the land.

4. Fadfadmas will be fixed by the Government hereafter and paid accordingly.

5. Kauls of istawa have been granted to certain villages in these Parganas. You should make an enquiry about them and having ascertained which villages are unprofitable, report the result to the Amin. The Amin will consider the report and make necessary arrangements by which you should be guided.

6. Full information regarding the Parganas should be furnished to the Amin. He would then lay down the system of Jamabandi according to which collection should be made.[1]

Of course we do not come across all the instructions quoted from the farman addressed to Muhammad Hashim. But it should be remembered that while Muhammad Hashim was the Dewan of a province, Lakshman Bhikaji was in charge of a few Parganas only. Similarly the farman addressed to Rasikdas also differs in certain details from that addressed to Muhammad Hashim. But some of the revenue regulations that we miss in Lakshman Bhikaji's sanad will be found in other sanads granted by the Peshwas' Government. Thus reference has already been made in Book II of tagai or taqavi loan mentioned in the Mughal farmans. In the same book mention has also been made of efforts made by the Peshwas' Government to induce runaway peasants to return to their villages and resume the cultivation of their deserted fields. In Book I a quotation has been made from Sabhasad to show how Shivaji also wanted his revenue officers to use conciliation and reassurances in gathering together cultivators from all sides with praiseworthy diligence. And the surveyors and inspectors mentioned by Abul Fazl naturally reminds one of the Maratha Pahanidars. This establishes beyond doubt the close intimacy between the Maratha and the Mughal systems.

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[1] P.D., Vol. III, pp. 289-295.

But it will be a mistake to suppose that the Muhammadans simply transmitted the old Hindu system and did not add to it anything of their own. It has not been possible to quote the two documents in full, but it is necessary to mention that in some of the omitted instructions the Emperor Aurangzib makes distinction between tithe-paying and rent-paying lands which is certainly Islamic in origin. This distinction naturally did not find any place in the Maratha system which as we have already noticed (in Book II) recognised the claims of Brahmans to various concessions.

Item fourteenth of Muhammad Hashim's farman claims our special attention, as it deals with jirayat lands converted into bagayat and also with special concession made for costly plantations which do not yield any immediate profit to the cultivator. The principle, as laid down here, is based on the orthodox Muhammadan theories of finance. Aghnides says that the rates for trees, palms and sugarcane plantations, according to al-Mawardi were ten, eight and six dirhams respectively. "The above taxes," says he, "concerning trees applied only in case they were closely planted in such a way that cultivation of the intervening space was impossible, for isolated trees growing in cultivated fields were exempt from tax for the land was then taxed as a cultivated land."[9] This principle the Marathas did not accept *in toto*. They laid special rates for the orchards and sugarcane plantations, while cocoanut palms as well as Undani and jack fruit trees were taxed as individual trees. But no tax was levied until the palms and trees began to pay. Thus in this case the Marathas did not either reject or accept in full the principle of taxing palms and other trees, as enunciated by Muhammadan theologians and introduced in India by Musulman conquerors, but somewhat altered it to suit their purpose.

4. *Paymalli Compensation:*

It was not infrequently that the Marathas accepted the policy or principles, good, bad, or indifferent, as they had been transmitted by their Muhammadan predecessors. One such instance is found in the Maratha custom of compensating aggrieved peasants and villagers for *paymalli* or loss caused by the Peshwas' forces when encamped near a village by treading on the crops in the neighbouring fields. Abdul Hamid Lahori, the author of *Badshah Nama*, tells us that such *paymalli* compensation was paid by Emperor Shah Jahan in the seventh year of his reign. "His Majesty's sense of justice and consideration, for his subjects," says Abdul Hamid, "induced him to order that the *Bakshi* of the *ahadis* with his archers should take charge of one side of the road, and the *Mir-atish* with his matchlock-men should guard the other, so that the growing crops should not be trampled under foot by the followers of the royal train. As, however, damage might be caused *daroghas*, *mushrifs* and *amins* were appointed to examine and report on the extent of the mischief, so that raiyats, and jagirdars under 1000, might be compensated for the individual loss they had sustained."[10] It may however appear from the language of Abdul Hamid that this compensation was a pure act of kindness and grace on the part of Shah Jahan, and not an obligation. Of course there is no obligation for an autocrat, but it was really a common practice of the Delhi Emperors and was continued by Shah Jahan's successors. Irvine says, "Even in the best time of the monarchy and under the strictest commanders the course of an army was marked by desolation. There were great destruction of growing crops when the army passed through a fairly cultivated country. Compensation under the name of *paemali* "foot treading," was certainly allowed, according to the rules, in the shape of a remission of revenue on the land injured, but this must have been a very incomplete indemnification for the loss of the crop."[11] It was "in the shape of a remission of revenue on the land injured" that the Peshwas' Government paid the *paemali* compensation, and there is reason to believe that in their case too the remission bore but a poor proportion to the loss sustained. It is, therefore, clear that in this instance at least the Marathas meekly followed the Mughal example which so far as the compensation itself was concerned was a laudable one. But the compensation naturally reminds one of the cause of the loss. It was as Irvine informs us the "great destruction of growing crops" by the Mughal forces, which could not be prevented by the strictest commander even in the best days of the monarchy.[12] So the Marathas were not the only offenders. Desolation was caused and growing crops had been destroyed by the Mughal forces too even while passing through the imperial territories in peaceful times, but the Maratha horseman has earned his unenviable notoriety as a plunderer and robber, because perhaps he was more thorough, more quick, more cunning and not because he was more ruthless, or less amenable to discipline than his Mughal brother.

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[9] Aghnides, Mohammedan Theories of Finance, p. 379.

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[10] Elliot and Dowson, Vol. VII, p. 43.

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[11] Irvine, Army of the Indian Moghuls, pp. 192-193.

[12] Manucci writes about the oppression of the Mughal army: "Besides all these inflictions they have other losses, for when the soldiery passes through they plunder every thing they can lay hands on, cattle, food-supplies, grass straw; they destroy houses to get fire wood and on the villagers' heads they load their baggage, and by dint of blows force them to carry it". Manucci, ed. Irvine, Vol. II, p. 452.

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CHAPTER II

REVENUE POLICY (*concluded*)

1. Classification of Lands:

The Muhammadan theories of revenue had been enunciated by the Arab theologians long before the conquest of India, and the Hindu principles had been laid down by old law-givers like Manu centuries before the birth of the Prophet of Mecca. The growth of these two sets of Revenue theories without and within India had therefore been altogether independent of each other. Yet they sometimes happened to be so similar that their interaction on each other had the same effect as the union of two similar Mendalian gametes. This happened with regard to the principles governing the classification of land in particular. We have already seen how Kautilya and the author of the Shukranitisara recognised the distinction between dry and irrigated land and the method of irrigation as a determining factor in assessment. The Marathas variously classified their land according to fertility, the nature of the crops, and the method of irrigation. This principle of classification was recognised by Musulman theologians also.

"Al-Mawardi discusses as follows the factors which determine the tax-bearing capacity of land. The person who assesses the *kharaj* on a piece of land should consider the capacity of land, which varies according to three factors, each factor affecting the amount of *kharaj* more or less. One of the factors pertaining to the land itself is the quality of the land by virtue of which the crop grown on it is rich, or the defect which causes the produce to be small. The second factor relates to the kind of crop, since grains and fruits vary in price, some fetching a higher price than the others, and the *kharaj* must therefore be assessed accordingly. The third factor pertains to the method of irrigation, for the crop that has been irrigated with water carried on the back of beasts or raised by a water-wheel, cannot stand the same rate of *kharaj* which could be charged on land watered by running water or rain."[1]

The Muhammadan rulers in India did not always strictly follow the financial theories of Muhammadan theologians. Thus in Akbar's classification of land we find that more attention was paid to the state of cultivation than to the factors enumerated by Al-Mawardi[2] although the *polaj* and *parauti* lands were divided into three classes,—good, middling and bad.

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[1] Aghnides, p. 381.

[2] Jarrett, Ain-i Akbari, Vol. II, p. 63.

But Akbar permitted special rates for some special crops as Abul Fazl informs us ; " The revenue from indigo, poppy, pan, turmeric, pignut (*Trapa biopinosa*), hemp, kachalu (*Arum colocasia*), pumpkin, pinna (*Lawsonia mermis*), cucumbers, badrang (a species of cucumber), the egg plant (*Solanum melongena*), radishes, carrots, karela (*Momordica charantia*), kakura, tendas and muskmelons, not counted as produce, was ordered to be paid in ready money at the rates hereafter mentioned." [3] Murshid Quli Khan, during his Dewanship of the Deccan, not only " distinguished arable land from rocky soils and water-courses," but also recognised "the method of irrigation as a determining factor in assessment." " Where the crop depended on rainfall, the State took one half of it. Where agriculture depended on well irrigation the share of the State was one-third in the case of grain, and from $\frac{1}{8}$ to $\frac{1}{4}$ in the case of grape, sugarcane, anise, plantain, pea-wort, and other special and high priced crops requiring laborious watering and length of culture. Where the field was irrigated from canals (pat) the proportion of the revenue to the crop varied, being sometimes higher and sometimes lower than in lands irrigated from wells." [4]

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[3] Jarrett, Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. II, p. 65.

[4] Jadunath Sarkar, Aurangzib, Vol. I, pp. 192-193.

In Murshid Quli's system we come across almost all the characteristics of the Maratha practice. The arable land is distinguished from rocky soils and the different methods of irrigation are taken into consideration The Muhammadan system, however, did not in these respects make any new contribution to the evolution of the Maratha system. But a special rate for "special and high priced crops requiring laborious watering and length of culture" was the new feature introduced by the Muhammadans. In fact the Marathas went a step further; they did more for the cultivation of palms, jack trees, and Undani trees than what Murshid did for grapes, sugarcane, anise, plantain and pea-wort, and they continued the Musulman practice with regard to sugar-cane plantations.

2. *Principle of Assessment* :

Let us turn to the principles of assessment, and in this connection our attention is naturally attracted by the istawa system which prevailed under the early Hindu rulers. This system was not revived by the Marathas, as it was a living practice, a principle familiar both to the rulers and tha ruled, when Shivaji founded an independent kingdom. We must therefore look to the Muhammadan historians, and not to the old Sanskrit works on law and polity, for the history of its transmission. It is not possible to supply every link and give a connected story, but it is certain that the principle was well known in Akbar's days and probably in the age of Sher Shah also, for Akbar was indebted for many of his revenue regulations to the great Pathan Emperor. The istawa principle was applied by Akbar in the assessment of *chachar* and *banjar* lands. Abul Fazl writes, with regard to the assessment of *chachar* land, "When either from excessive rain or through an inundation, the land falls out of cultivation the husbandmen are, at first, in considerable distress. In the first year, therefore, but two-fifths of the produce is taken ; in the second three-fifths ; in the third, four-fifths and in the fifth, the ordinary revenue."[5] The same writer observes about *banjar* lands, "In *banjar* land for the first year, one or two *sers* are taken from each bigha ; in the second year, five *sers* ; in the third year, a sixth of the produce ; in the fourth year, a fourth share together with one *dam* : in other years a third suffices. This varies somewhat during inundations. In all cases the husbandman may pay in money or kind as is most convenient."[6] Here also the process of evolution is perceptible. While Akbar applied the istawa principle in the assessment of chachar

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[5] Jarrett, Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. II, p. 67.

[6] *Ibid*, p. 68.

(land that has lain fallow for three or four years) and banjar (land uncultivated for five years and more) lands alone, the Marathas applied this principle in the assessment of all classes of lands, good, bad or middling, whether under cultivation or fallow. It should also be noted that the husbandman, under the Peshwa's Government, did pay in money or kind whatever was convenient to him.

3. *Payment by Instalment* :

Payment by instalment was also allowed by Muhammadan rulers. In a farman addressed to his officers, Akbar advises them thus, "Let them collect rent from the subjects in an easy manner, in order that all lands may be cultivated and blessed with population. * * * In collecting rent from the cultivators, do so piecemeal, and deviate in no degree from the agreement which has been made."[7] The Muhammadan theologians also advocated collection of the Jizyah by instalments. "Abu Yusuf maintains that it should be collected by instalments every two months and Muhammad Ibn al-Hasan, every month, in order that the tax may become more onerous for the tax-payers and more beneficial to the Moslems."[8] Akbar's intention on the contrary was to make the payment more easy. We do not know for certain whether he followed the guidance of Abu Yusuf or Muhammad Ibn al-Hasan in recommending collection by instalment, but it is certain that he acted on far different principles.

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[7] Bird, Statistical History of Gujrat, p. 394.

[8] Aghnides, p. 405.

4. *The Agency of Collection :*

The agency of collection was practically the same under the Muhammadans and the Marathas. The village communities flourished undisturbed and the village headmen were responsible for revenue collection and the village accountant kept the accounts. The account books were sent to the government officials almost in the same manner under both the Governments. "The *Patwari*," says Abul Fazl, "of each village was to apportion (the village) name by name, among the various subordinate agents, and the collectors were to send the cash under the seal of the Patwari to the treasurer."[1] The Muquaddams were considered so indispensable that Murshid Quli Khan, during his Dewanship in the Deccan, found it necessary to appoint new village headmen where the old family had either died out or migrated to some other place.

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[1] Elliot and Dowson, Vol. VI, p. 64.

5. *Remission of Rent :*

Like the *paymalli* compensation remission of rent in times of famine were also made by Mughal Emperors. They thus set a strong precedent for the Marathas to follow, even though the principle was not new. One case of such remission of rent will suffice here. In 1629 Gujrat and the Deccan were visited by a terrible famine, and Abdul Hamid Lahori tells us that, "Under the directions of the wise and generous Emperor taxes amounting to nearly seventy lacs of rupees were remitted by the revenue officers—a sum amounting to nearly eighty *krors* of *dams*, and amounting to one eleventh part of the whole revenue. When such remissions were made from the exchequer it may be conceived how great were the reductions made by the nobles who held *jagirs* and *mansabs*."[19] Akbar was contented, when a similar calamity overtook Hindusthan, with the distribution of alms as Shaikh Nurul Hakk informs us, "During the year 1004 H. there was a scarcity of rain throughout the whole of Hindustan, and a fearful famine raged continuously for three or four years. The king ordered that alms should be distributed in all the cities, and Nawab Shaikh Farid Bokhari, being ordered to superintend and control their distribution, did all in his power to relieve the general distress of the people. Public tables were spread, and the army was increased in order to afford maintenance to the poor people." [11]

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[19] Elliot and Dowson, Vol. VII, p. 25.

Another commendable example that the Mughal Emperors set before the Marathas was that of granting rent-free land to deserving physicians for rendering their professional service free of charge to the suffering humanity. Muhammadans and Hindus believed alike in astrology and long association and spirit of inborn tolerance had generated in the Hindus that reverence for the mosques and the saints of their Musulman neighbours which devotees of one faith seldom entertain for another. The Sultans of Bijapur and Ahmadnagar therefore granted rent-free lands in *inam* to successful and learned Hindu astrologers while rent-free lands were granted by Shivaji and his successors for the maintenance of mosques and shrines of Muhammadan saints. The Maratha rulers also granted such *inam* to physicians of all faith and nationality for free distribution of medicine. Here, however, they had the example of the Muhammadan rulers before their eyes. In the year 989 of the Hijira a farman was granted to a Parsi physician which runs as follows—"Order,

Let the revenue collectors and officials and

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[11] Elliot and Dowson, Vol. VI, p. 193.

Desais and *Qanungos* of the township of Navasari be informed that whereas the Parsi Mahr Tabib (physician) is a deserving person and does not possess any other means of subsistence, and whereas he has offered himself as a sacrifice, for the blessed life of His Exalted Majesty (May God perpetuate his dominion), the extent of four *Auls* of cultivated land and culturable waste, one *Aul* of cultivated and three *Auls* of culturable (waste), within the environs of the aforesaid township, has been settled upon him as his *wasifah*. As soon as they receive intimation of this Parwanah, they should hand over to him the said land after fixing its boundaries and setting it apart, so that having tilled it according to his ability, he may spend the proceeds thereof in (providing) the means of subsistence and devote himself with a tranquil mind to praying for the permanence of His Majesty's powerful Kingdom. Let them know their duty and regard obedience in this matter as a positive obligation and do nothing contrary to the same. Written on the 21st of the sacred month of Muharram 989."[12]

It is certain that the Parsi Tabib did not get the *inam* in question for merely "Praying for the permanence of His Majesty's powerful Kingdom," but for his professional services to the suffering subjects of His Majesty. Any doubt on this point is removed by another document quoted by Professor Hodivala in his *Studies in Parsi History*. "The children of Qiam Tabib beg and request the evidence of all those, who have any knowledge of the matter, to state whether the person aforesaid cures the ailments of the needy poor and distressed of the township of Navasari and whether his means of subsistence depend on fifty Bighas extent of land with trees thereon, in the said township. If any one is cognizant of the fact of the aforesaid Tabib having cured the diseases of the needy and the indigent, let him affix, for God's sake, his testimony below, (for which) he will receive his reward from the Lord and deserve thanks from men." [13] The request was answered by several Muhammadan gentlemen who attested to the truth of the statement and attached their seal and signature to the paper quoted above. It should be noted that the children of Qiam Tabib were the descendants of Mahr Tabib of the first document and it is clear that they enjoyed the inam in lieu of the service their ancestor and father rendered to the needy and the indigent of their native town. The Peshwas did not open hospitals and charitable dispensaries, they considered their duties performed when they granted some rent-free land in inam to some physician, whether he was a Hindu or a Muhammadan or even a Portuguese did not matter much, who had the public spirit and generosity of treating the poor and the indigent sick free of charge.

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[12] Hodivala, Studies in Parsi History, pp. 172-173.

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[13] Hodivala, Studies in Parsi History, pp. 186-187.

6. *Kauls* :

Kauls have been referred to in the farmans addressed to Muhammad Hashim and Rasikdas and we have seen in Book II how common this practice was in the Peshwa days. There is reason to believe that the Marathas were indebted to the Mughals for this excellent practice although the theory underlying it was older than the Muhammadan conquest. While engaged in a war against the Portuguese the Mughal officers often tried to induce the frightened peasants to come back to their villages and carry on the cultivation of their deserted fields by granting them kauls. Manucci, who had first-hand knowledge of the Deccan affairs, writes as follows: "As soon as the governor approached the Portuguese villages, the frightened peasants took to flight. Upon noticing this the governor sent for the village headmen and treating them courteously reassured them, and told them that they ought to remain in their villages and go on cultivating their fields as usual. For, so he assured them, no one would interfere with them. He sent them away contented, giving presents to each according to his merits."[14]

7. *Taxes and Cesses :*

If the Mughals had been instrumental in the survival of many good Hindu practices, they were no less responsible for many of the vexatious cesses and dues. This was but natural, human nature being what it is. The Muhammadan rulers, on their assumption of the Government of India, found that many taxes and cesses were levied by its former rulers and they were in no hurry to abolish them. Sometimes the conscience of such orthodox Musulman Emperors as Firuz Shah Tughlak, and Aurangzib was pricked because some of these taxes did not quite conform to the injunctions of the Quran and they abolished them. Benevolent despots like Akbar and Jahangir abolished many extra cesses and abwabs because they were irksome to the trader and cultivator. But these prohibitions had little effect in the distant provinces where the local officers and jagirdars paid but scant respect to the Emperor's wishes. Only in the big cities and the metropolis could these prohibitions be enforced. but even there it had only a temporary effect. After a few years the vexatious cesses and abwabs were all revived; and the Marathas continued to levy these dues when they became the masters of the land.

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[14] Manucci, ed. Irvine, Vol. II, p. 229.

1. Lagnapatti or marriage cess was certainly one of these old dues, levied by Hindu rulers of Vijayanagar and abolished by them in the sixteenth century. We find Lagnapatti and Patdam frequently mentioned in Marathi documents, and the cess survived till the British conquest. The Marathas did not rise to power immediately after the abolition of the marriage cess by the Vijayanagar rulers in the 16th century, but in the meantime the great Akbar continued to levy it in his empire. Abul Fazl informs us, "His Majesty also takes a tax from both parties, to enable them to shew their gratitude. The payment of this tax is looked upon as auspicious. *Mancabdars* commanding from five to one thousand, pay 10 Muhars, Mancabdars commanding from one thousand to five hundred 4 Muhars, Mancabdars to commanders of forty 1 Muhur, do to commanders of ten 4 R. The latter fee is also paid by rich people. The middle classes pay 1 R. and common people one *dam*. In demanding this tax, the officers have to pay regard to the circumstances of the father of the bride."[15] During the Peshwa regime the

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[15] Blochmann, Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. I, p. 278.

marriage cess was levied at the rate of 8 annas in case of a marriage and 1 Re. when it was a re-marriage.

2. Among the taxes remitted by Akbar is mentioned *Sardarakhti*[16] a tax on each tree. Jahangir also says, "Thanks to the Almighty God, that no revenue on fruit trees has been taken during my reign; and I gave orders that if any one were to plant a garden in cultivated land he was not to pay any revenue."[17] So it is evident that sardarakhti was levied before Jahangir and Akbar, but though abolished by them it was revived later on. In Maratha days the tax was known as jhadjhadora.

3. Ashva Zakati is a cess we have mentioned in a previous Book. It is interesting to note that a similar tax is mentioned by Abul Fazl. "From foresight and on account of the large profits of the horse-dealers, His Majesty enforced a tax of three Rupees for every Iraqui Mujammas and Arab, imported from Kabul and Persia; two and a half Rupees for every Turkish and Arabian horse imported from Quandahar, and two for Kabul horses and Indian Arab breed."[18] Manucci also mentions a similar tax.[19] "Most of the horses used by the Mogul come from the

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[16] Jarrett, Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. II, p. 66. Also Thomas, Revenue Resources of the Moghul Empire, p. 17.

[17] Elliot and Dowson, Vol. VI, p. 365.

[18] Blochmann, Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. I, p. 215.

[19] Manucci, ed. Irvine, Vol. II, p. 371.

regions of Balkh, Bukhara and Kabul. Thence come every year more than one hundred thousand, and on them the King makes a great profit by the duty he imposes. At the crossing of the Indus alone a payment twenty-five per cent. on their value is made."

4. There cannot be any doubt that *gau shumari* or a tax on each head of oxen[20] abolished by Akbar, was the Mughal prototype of the Maratha Shingshingoti, but it is needless to multiply instances. " Rahdari which was collected on every highway frontier and ferry, and brought in a large sum to the revenue," and Pandari (or Pandharpatti) a ground or house cess, which was paid throughout the Imperial dominions by every tradesman and dealer, from the butcher, the potter and the green-grocer to the draper, jeweller and banker " had both been prohibited by Emperor Aurangzib.[21] This prohibition however was not quite effective. Khafi Khan tells us, "Although his gracious and beneficent Majesty remitted these taxes, and issued strict orders prohibiting their collection, the avaricious propensities of men prevailed, so that, with the exception of pandari, which, being mostly obtained from the capital and the chief cities, felt the force of the abolition, the royal prohibition had no effect and faujdars and

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[20] Jarrett, Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. II, p. 66.

[21] Elliot & Dowson, Vol. VII, p. 247.

jagirdars in remote places did not withhold their hands from these exactions." And again, "The rahdari in particular is condemned by righteous and just men as a most vexatious impost, and oppressive to travellers but a large sum is raised by it. In most parts of the Imperial territories the faujdars and jagirdars by force and tyranny, now exact more than ever from the traders and poor necessitous travellers."[22] So it is no wonder that the Marathas should continue to exact rahdari and taxes analogous to pandari as the Mughals did before them. They had accepted the bad as well as the good points of the administrative system which they found in operation when they wrested the land from their Islamic masters.

It is needless to go into details about every tax and cess. It will suffice here if some of the taxes and cesses levied by Muhammadans and afterwards continued by the Marathas are mentioned.

1. Beth Begari[22a]
2. Belekati
3. Telpati
4. Tup
5. Hejib

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[22] *Ibid*, p. 248.

[22a] Forced labour existed under the Portuguese in a very rigorous form. Even the Brahmans were not exempted from it. See da Cunha, Origin of Bombay, pp. 116-118.

6. Mohtarfa
8. Ghurpatti
9. Bat Chapai
10. Kotowali
14. Wancharai[28]

Khafi Khan has mentioned, among other taxes, cesses and abwabs, prohibited by Aurangzib, "the fourth part of debts recovered by the help of Magistrates from creditors." We have seen in Book II, how creditors had to pay a fee amounting to twenty-five per cent. of the money recovered from debtors with state help under the

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[28] For these see Thomas, Revenue Sources of the Moghul Empire, pp. 5, 16, 17, 18 & 19. Manucci, ed. Irvine, Vol. II, pp. 386 & 387, Elliot & Dowson, Vol. VII, pp. 247 & 248. Bird, Gujarat, pp. 113 & 114. Jarret, Ain, Vol. II, pp. 66 & 67. The Portuguese generally took care to preserve the old revenue customs and usages as far as possible. A Commission with Antonio Francisco Benjamin Pinto as President and Xavier da Cunha, V.A. Ceaser de Mello, Francisco João Jacob Coutinho as members was appointed (2nd May 1867) to report on the practices, usages and customs regarding payment of rents, etc., in the villages of Daman. They submitted their report on the 24th August, 1871. The report has been published in *Noticias E Documentos Para A Historia de Damão Antiga Provincia Do Norte* by Antonio Francisco Moniz Junior (1900 Bastora). It recounts all the rights, taxes, cesses and privileges enjoyed by the State and the landlords, and we find (p. 168) that *jirayet* land was recognised for revenue purposes as in Maharashtra (terra alta Chamado Jerat) that coconut trees were taxed (p. 169) (pagão por cem cajuris...dez rupias) and that rent varied according to the nature of the crop cultivated. Mention is made of a due called Dan (p. 172), most probably analogous to Dani of our list. Foruma Viga de terra de Undo do producção de Dangee, ou cara com jerat pago-se vinte e dois parãs e sem jerat Vinte a titulo de Dan.

Peshwa regime. Customs, specially when favourable to the powerful, die hard indeed !

Customs and transit duties were levied in India by her Hindu rulers from very early times. The Muhammadan kings who succeeded them continued the old duties as usual and sometimes added to their incidence. In the early years of the Mughal rule, when Babar laid the foundation of his power at Delhi, "there was a duty levied on the frontier on goods" and "there were transit duties on merchandise transported from one part of the country to another."[24] Jahangir prohibited transit duties[25] but there cannot be any doubt that they continued to be levied. "Mundy, Thevenot, and Tavernier, who took an interest in such topics, show us a regular system of transit dues in force throughout large portions of the country, and Father Sebastian Manrique tells how the passport granted to him as an ecclesiastic to travel from Lahore to the mouth of the Indus was used by a merchant of his party to evade many demands during the journey."[26] Thevenot counted, on the road from Aurangabad to Golkonda, sixteen taxing posts in twenty-three leagues.[27] Customs, tolls and transit duties were collected throughout the territories of the Sultan of Golkonda even at the time of the Mughal conquest.[28] The Marathas did not cease to impose these time-honoured duties, but in their time the hardship of the merchants and tradesmen were considerably ameliorated as a class of men known as Hundikaris undertook to transport all commodities from one place to another for a single payment.

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[24] Erskine, A History of India under the First two Sovereigns of the House of Taimur, Vol. 1, p. 530.

[25] Elliot & Dowson, Vol. VII, pp. 290 & 291.

[26] Moreland, India at the Death of Akbar, p. 49.

[27] *Ibid*, p. 50.

Customs Duties were during the Peshwa regime farmed out to tax-contractors for a specified sum. Here also the Marathas seem to have followed in the footsteps of the Mughals. Manucci not only mentions tax-contractors, but gives a graphic account of their shameless conduct.[29]

Thus we find that many of the cesses and taxes had been inherited by the Marathas from their ancient Hindu ancestors through the Muhammadans, while for others they were indebted to the Muhammadans alone. The term Zakat they must have borrowed from their Islamic rulers; but their Zakat could hardly be identified with the Poor tax which every follower of the Prophet of Mecca deemed it his bounden duty to pay for the benefit of the poorer and more indigent members of their community. The payment of Zakat formed part of the Islamic faith, technically therefore it could not be levied for the benefit of the State nor was an unbeliever entitled to pay it.[30] But it has to be remembered that Zakat was collected from tradesmen too for complete *nisabs* of articles of trade they possessed, by the ashirs. "The ashirs were collectors stationed by the *imam* on the public road in order to collect the Zakat of Moslem traders, as well as the tolls imposed on the *dhimmi* and *harbi* traders who pass him." It is not difficult to guess how the Zakat which originally formed an obligation on the part of all Muhammadan householders who possessed the taxable amount of property, became a source of income of the Non-Muslim Maratha rulers. The Muhammadans of course brought their theories of finance with them and tried to enforce them as far as possible, and as the payment of Zakat was an obligation on the part of all true believers, they continued to pay them. Gradually the more unscrupulous of the Muslim rulers began to appropriate the Zakat collected by public officers for their own use instead of properly disbursing it according to the injunctions of the Quran. The Hindus also became familiar with its collection by officers on the roadside and whether they were familiar or not with its origin, they began to regard it as a source of revenue like other taxes and cesses. When

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[28] Irvine, Manucci, Vol. II, pp. 387 & 388.

[29] Manucci, ed. Irvine, Vol. II, p. 175.

[30] For Zakat see Aghnides, Muhammadan Theories of Finance.

therefore the Marathas replaced the Muhammadans the term lost its original Quranic sense and acquired a far wider meaning. It was collected from all traders irrespective of their faith, caste and creed, and like some other taxes were farmed out to a contractor. But sometimes as we have seen a Kamavisdar of Zakat was appointed to check the oppression and corrupt practices of the tax-contractors.

8. Standardisation of Price :

Before concluding this chapter on the revenue principles we may take a passing notice of a Hindu practice transmitted to the Marathas by the Muslims. All Maratha rulers from Shivaji to Baji Rao II actively interfered in the manufacturing industries of their land and tried to control the prices of the necessaries of life. This practice is as old as the Artha Shastra of Kautilya. But it must be conceded that the Muslim rulers of India did much to keep it alive. Allauddin Khiliji tried to keep down his military expenses by keeping down the price of all necessaries of life. He did not try to achieve his purpose by a skilful balancing of demand and supply. These principles were perhaps undreamt of in his time in Europe and Asia. But like a true autocrat he arbitrarily fixed the price of all necessary articles of food. Anybody who was detected in demanding a higher rate was severely punished.[31] But Allauddin was not the only prince to aim at a standardisation of prices. In Mughal days it was one of the duties of the Kotwal to supervise the purchase and sale of goods in the market place. Akbar fixed the price of building materials after a careful enquiry to the satisfaction of all as Abul Fazl informs us.[32] And the principle of state-controlled price survived till the English introduced the idea of free trade and economic non-interference in India.

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[31] Briggs' Ferishta, Vol. I, pp. 355-360.

[32] Blochmann, Ain-i-Akbar, Vol. I, pp. 221-223.

From papers mentioned in *Catalogo dos Manuscriptos da Bibliotheca publica Eborense*, it appears that the Portuguese Government also deemed it their duty to regulate the price of rice., etc. See p. 360.

CHAPTER III.

MILITARY ORGANISATION.

1. Mansab and Saranjam:

For their military organisation the Marathas were more directly indebted to the Muhammadans than for their Revenue system. The Revenue principles were mostly Hindu in origin, but the Maratha military regulations were directly inspired by the practice in the Muhammadan armies. After the foundation of the Bahmani kingdom, the Marathas enlisted in large numbers in the Pathan army and during the Nizam and Adil Shahi regime they rose to very great prominence. High ranks and rich jagirs were willingly conferred on competent Maratha generals by their Muslim masters, and it is no wonder that they completely assimilated the military tactics of the Muslim rulers of South India. Having once formed a component part of the Ahmadnagar and Bijapur forces, Shivaji's early followers were naturally familiar with the Muhammadan military organisation. In fact Shivaji often enlisted deserters from his enemy's army. But it should be remembered that the genius of Shivaji warned him against a slavish imitation. While therefore the organisation of Shivaji's forces had been largely influenced by the uncommon genius of their great leader, the Peshwa army in its organisation differed but little from that of their Mughal foes. While Shivaji's generals held their office at the King's good will and got no jagir for maintaining their forces, the Peshwas had, to the detriment of the solidarity of their empire, introduced the military jagir system and granted *Saranjams* to their generals in imitation of the Mughals. Like the Mughals again they exaggerated the value of cavalry and suffered their infantry to deteriorate. Foreign critics like Tone observes that the Marathas had no infantry worth the name. And by giving preference to foreigners, the Peshwas and their officers deprived their army of that national spirit which formed the strongest characteristic of Shivaji's followers. But while differing in the fundamental principle underlying his military organisation, Shivaji had yet to retain many Muhammadan practices in his army administration. He recognised the distinction between Shiledars and Bargirs as the Peshwas did after him. In his method of enlistment and payment he followed his Muhammadan predecessors. He honoured his men and officers for distinguished services in the battle field almost in the same manner as the Muslim Sultans and

Emperors. Even his tactics, which made the Maratha horseman famous in the military annals of India, were not unknown to the Muslim generals. Malik Ambar had employed the same tactics against the Mughal invaders of Ahmadnagar, and the Bijapur officers on more than one occasion had found the same tactics equally useful against their heavily armed and armoured enemies.

2. *Method of Enlistment :*

Let us now consider in more detail the extent of Shivaji's indebtedness to his Muslim teachers for some of the practices prevailing in his army, for instance, his method of enlistment. Sabhasad says, "Of the forces, the musketeers, the spearsmen, the archers and light armed men should be appointed after the Raja himself had carefully inspected each man individually (and selected) the brave and shrewd. The garrison in the fort, the Havaldar and the Sarnobat should be Marathas of good family. They should be appointed after some one of the royal personal staff had agreed to stand surety (for them)."[1] So the spearsmen, the archers and the light armed men were appointed after a personal inspection by the King himself and a surety was also demanded from them. The Emperor Akbar also appointed ahdis after personal inspection and taking a security. Abul Fazl informs us, "Without partiality or accepting bribes he takes daily several before His Majesty, who examines them. When they have been approved of, they pass through the *Yaddasht*, the *Taliquah*, the descriptive roll and accounts. The paymaster then takes a security and introduces the candidate a second time to His Majesty who increases his pay from an eighth to three-fourths, or even to more than six-sevenths."[2] The practice of taking surety from soldiers of all rank was very common when Manucci lived in India. He writes, "All soldiers high and low, generals and captains, are forced to give surety and without it they cannot obtain employment. This practice is so common and so general that even the princes find it necessary to conform to the custom."[3] And again, "All the said soldiers, captains and generals, whatever their birth or position, are obliged to furnish sureties. Without this they will not be taken into the service. This thing is universal and no one can complain. Nor is there any ground for complaint, the same rule being observed in the case of princes of the blood royal."[4] No wonder, that in those days of treachery and disloyalty a surety should be the inevitable condition of employment and the practice that was universal in the Mughal army, as the Italian writer says, should commend itself to the good sense of the shrewd Maratha leader.

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[1] Sen, Siva Chhatrapati, p. 20.

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[2] Blochmann, Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. I, pp. 249-250.

[3] Manucci, ed. Irvine, Vol. II, p. 377.

3. Payment:

In Shivaji's time and in the Peshwa days too, soldiers were paid partly in money and partly in clothes.[5] In Book II we have taken notice of a queer practice that deprived the Maratha official of a month's or two months' salary although he had to serve the State for full twelve months. Every Maratha soldier was familiar with "*baramahi chakri* and *dahamahi* or *akra mahi pay*." Here also the Maratha government simply imitated a common practice of the Mughal army. Akbar deducted one month's pay every year on account of the horse.[6] Abul Fazl informs us that, "The commander of every contingent is allowed to keep for himself the twentieth part of the pay of his men, which reimburses him for various expenses."[7] We read in Harivansanchi Bakhar, that

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[4] Manucci, ed. Irvine, Vol. IV, p. 407.

[5] Ranade.

[6] Blochmann, Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. I, p. 264.

[7] *Ibid*, p. 265.

Purushottam *alias* Daji Patwardhan used to deduct one month's pay for the same reason. In Manucci's time the Mughal soldier did not get even ten months' pay. Writes the Italian adventurer, who had personal knowledge of the Mughal practice, "For in respect of one year's service they receive six or eight months' pay. Even that is not all in coin; they are always foisted off as respects two months' pay with clothes and old raiment from the house-hold."[8] The Marathas found it specially convenient to pay partly in clothes because this enabled them to dispose of a portion of the spoils that they got in their Mulukhgiri expeditions.

4. *Mulukhgiri:*

The term Mulukhgiri is of Muhammadan origin, derived from Persian *Mulk*, country and *giriftan* to take. The Sultans of Gujrat also regarded Mulukhgiri as a legitimate source of income.[9] Professor Jadunath Sarkar observes in this connection, "The coincidence between Shivaji's foreign policy and that of a Quranic sovereign is so complete that both the history of Shivaji by his courtier Krishnaji Anant and the Persian official history of Bijapur use exactly the same word, Mulk-giri, to describe such raids into

[8] Manucci, ed. Irvine, Vol. II, p. 379.

[9] Mirat-i-Ahmadi.

neighbouring countries as a regular political ideal. The only difference was that in theory at least, an orthodox Muslim King was bound to spare the other Muslim states in his path, and not to spoil or shed the blood of true believers, while Shivaji (as well as the Peshwas after him) carried on his Mulk-giri into all neighbouring states; Hindu no less than Islamic, and squeezed rich Hindus as mercilessly as he did Muhammadans."[10] In practice, however, the Muhammadan invader had very little mercy for his brother in faith and while some of the Maratha expeditions were but a prelude to the conquest and annexation of the country invaded, all the Mulukgiri expeditions led by Muhammadan generals, whatever might have been their aim, were not rewarded with similar success.

5. *Reward for Military Services :*

In rewarding distinguished services in war, the Maratha rulers followed the Muhammadan precedent. Titles were conferred on successful generals, they sometimes obtained the honour of using Sunshades or *Aftagirs, Palquis* and *Nalquis* and another distinction which brave officers could expect was the use of *Chaughada*. And Sabhasad tells us that Shivaji rewarded his soldiers with gold bracelets, earrings, necklaces, crests and medallions,[11] after his success against Afzal Khan, while officers of rank got horses and higher ranks. According to Irvine jewelled ornaments, weapons with jewelled hilts, palkis, with fringes of gold lace and pearls, horses with gold mounted and jewelled trappings and elephants were presented by Mughal Emperors to their military officers in acknowledgment of their services to the State.[12] Aftabgir is mentioned in the Ain-i-Akbari and Irvine says that in the Mughal army only royal princes were entitled to this high distinction. He writes, "*Aftabgir*—This sun screen shaped like an open palm leaf fan was also called Suraj-mukhi. By the Moghul rulers it could only be granted to royal princes. In the eighteenth century, however, the Marathas adopted it as one of their commonest ensigns, and even the smallest group of their cavalry was in the habit of carrying one." [13] Aftagir was conferred by Shivaji on his generals and officers of lesser rank as early as the seventeenth century. Similarly the honour of carrying *Jari Patka*, the golden standard, conferred on distinguished Maratha generals, was also quite in accord with the Mughal custom. Irvine remarks that in the Mughal army "apart from titles or money rewards, or ordinary gifts, a man might be awarded," among other distinctions (*i*) "the right to carry a flag or simple standard and (*ii*) the right to use kettle drums and beat the naubat."[14] The Chaughadas granted by Maratha rulers were nothing but kettle drums[15] and the principal Maratha Sardars had their naubats as well.

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[10] Sarkar, Shivaji, First Ed., p. 480.

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[11] Sen, Siva Chhatrapati, p. 25.

[12] Irvine, Army of the Indian Moghuls, pp. 29-30.

[13] *Ibid*, p. 34.

Shivaji had conferred upon two of his generals, Kadtaji Gujar and Hansaji Mohite, the titles of Pratap Rao and Hambir Rao respectively. Rajaram also honoured his officers with high-sounding titles, but a mere glance at the list of the titles he conferred will at once convince one that the Chhatrapati was simply following the practice of the Badshah of Delhi. Hukmatpanha, Shamsher Bahadur, Shahjang, Rustamrao, Amir-ul-Umara, Sharfanmulk, Madarulmaham, Saphejang Bahadur, Shahajatmulk and Fattejang Bahadur[16] were undoubtedly of Muslim origin and not Hindu titles.

6. *Pension :*

Irvine does not say whether the Mughals paid any pension to the minor children and widows of soldiers killed in action as the Marathas did, although Balban had granted to his old veterans a full-pay pension. The principle of helping the children and wives of such men was not unknown to the Muhammadan monarchs. "A rule was established by the Sultan (Mahmud Bigarah) that if an *amir* or any soldier was killed in battle or died a natural death, his *jagir* was confirmed to his son; if there was no son, half of the *jagir* was given to the daughter; and if there was no daughter, a suitable provision was settled upon the dependents, so that there might be no ground of complain."[17] The Emperor Humayun also provided for the widows and orphans of his soldiers, as his step-sister Princess Gulbadan informs us, "To widows and orphans, and kinsfolk of men who had been wounded and killed at Chausa and Kanauj or Bhakkar, or who were in the royal service during those intermissions, he gave pensions, and rations, and water, and land, and servants. In days of His Majesty's good fortune, great tranquillity and happiness befell soldiers and peasants. They lived without care, and put up many an ardent prayer for his long life."[18]

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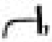
[14] Irvine, Army of the Indian Moghuls, p. 35.

[15] For an instance of Changhada see Peshwanchi Bakhar, p. 74.

[16] Chitnis's Sambhaji and Rajaram, ed. Sane, p. 52.

7. *Branding of Horses:*

Sabhasad tells us that Shivaji captured about four thousand horses at Surat and "a cavalry force was organised with them. As the distinctive mark of this force, a quadrangular sign was branded on the right buttock of the horses."[19] For this practice of branding horses the Marathas were certainly indebted to the Muslims. Branding was first introduced by Allauddin Khiliji, but the practice was discontinued by his immediate successors. It was however revived by Sher Shah and finally introduced into the Mughal army by Akbar, to continue till the downfall of his dynasty.[20] Abul Fazl has given detailed information about the branding of horses in Akbar's time. Manucci, who was quite familiar with the military regulations of the great Mughal, is not silent about it. "All the horsemen," writes he, "who are *mansabdars* under the king must have impressed on the right flank of their horses a mark made like this , which is the royal brand. From the day that they get this mark made their pay begins. The Generals also cause a brand to be placed on the horses of their troopers, but it is made on the left flank. Their brand is usually the first letter of their name, and their men's pay begins also on the day that the brand is imprinted."[21] It seems that Shivaji first branded his horses after the second sack of Surat. By that time he must have become well acquainted with the military regulations of his Mughal enemies. But we do not know for certain whether this practice of branding horses survived Shivaji in the Maratha army.

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[17] Bayley, Gujarat, p. 167.

[18] Beveridge, A. S., The Humayun Nama of Gulbadan Begam, pp. 178-79.

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[19] Sen, Siva Chhatrapati, p. 88.

[20] Irvine, Army of the Indian Moghuls, p. 46.

[21] Manucci, ed. Irvine, Vol. II, pp. 376-377.

8. The Shiledars:

From the horses let us turn to their owners, the Shiledars. The Shiledar had to purchase his own horse and was not compensated for its loss, whether in war or otherwise, by the State. From a paper published in the Itihas Sangraha, it appears that this rule was suspended by Chimnaji Appa during his campaign against Bassein and the horseman who lost his horse in the siege operations got its price. But this was an exceptional case, the general practice was the same as that prevailing in the Mughal army. The Shiledar's horse was his own property and he seldom risked its loss. Irvine writes of the Mughal army, "The constitution of the army was radically unsound. Each man was, there can be no doubt, individually brave, even to recklessness. Why then do we find them so ready to retreat from a battle-field, so anxious to make off after the slightest reverse? Simply because they had so much to lose and so very little to gain. A trooper rode his own horse, and if it was killed he was ruined irretrievably." Irvine further remarks, "Moor noticed among the Mahratta cavalry that the same cause produced the same effect. A reluctance to charge will be frequently observed; which does not proceed from any deficiency in personal courage, but from this cause: a great part of the horses in the Mahratta service are, we have understood, the property of the riders, who receive a certain monthly pay, according to the goodness of the horse, for their own and their beast's services. If a man has his horse killed or wounded, no equivalent is made him by the Sirkar, but he loses his animal and his allowance; he will, therefore, of course, be as careful as possible to preserve both."[22] Moor wrote in the last decade of the 18th century, and we do not know whether his remarks hold good of Shivaji's army. It is however certain that many of his military regulations were suffered to disappear during the Peshwa period, and the Peshwas not only tried to imitate the pomp and splendour of the Mughal court, but also organised their army on the Mughal model. The organisation of the Peshwa army therefore was equally unsound.

9. *Pendharis:*

Before we take leave of the Maratha army let us take a passing notice of the Pendharis who accompanied it. Authorised thieves were known in ancient India, and they accompanied the Mughal forces also, to harass the enemy's country. Manucci says, "Along with the armies there march privileged and recognised thieves called Bederia (Bidari); these are the first to invade the enemy's territory, where they plunder every thing they find. The handsomest items are reserved for the general; the rest they sell on their own account. Prince Shah Alam, when he was within the territories of Shivaji, near Goa, had in his army seven thousand such, whose orders were to ravage the lands of Bardes because of my non-return, as I have stated in my Second Part."[23] Irvine remarks in a note that these Bidaris are sometimes confounded with the Pendharis. Such confusion or identification is not however absolutely unwarranted.[24] The Pendharis and the authorised thieves mentioned by Manucci shared several common characteristics. They accompanied a regular army to ravage and plunder the enemy's territories. The Pendharis paid a tax which amounted to 25 per cent. of their booty, while the Bidari reserved the choicest items for the general. It may be noted that the authorised thieves and robbers who accompanied the Maratha army were variously called the Pendharis and Lamans and in extreme south Bedars. It may not therefore be altogether unreasonable, though the objections of so great an authority as Irvine cannot be lightly rejected, to suppose that the Pendharis of the Peshwa army had their prototypes in the Bidari who followed the Mughal forces. It should be noted that it is not known whether Shivaji had, like the Peshwas, an auxiliary force of authorised robbers. Naturally the Peshwa army organised on the Mughal model shows more points in common with the Mughal army than does the earlier Maratha army that earned eternal fame under Shivaji's leadership.

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[22] Irvine, Army of the Indian Moghuls, pp. 298-299.

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[23] Manucci, ed. Irvine, Vol. II, p. 459.

[24] It is worth noticing that Sabhasad thinks that Dilel Khan was accompanied by a body of Pendharis when he laid siege to Kondana. It is therefore clear that these Bidaris were known to their Maratha contemporaries as Pendharis. See Sen, Extracts and Documents, Vol. I, p. 52.

CHAPTER IV.

THE POLICE.

1. The Kotwal:

The Maratha Government like the Mughals had nothing to do with the rural police. The village headman kept rural peace as best as he could with the help of his Mahar watchmen. But the urban police was maintained by the state, and herein also we find another instance of the Marathas adopting the Muslim practice. The head of the city police was the *Kotwal*, and the origin of his office, as the name indicates was certainly Muhammadan. His principal duties as enumerated in a document dated 1767-68 were (for full particulars see Book II) (1) to dispose of important disputes within his jurisdiction, (2) to fix the prices of goods, (3) to supply labourers for Government work and to supervise sales and purchases of land, (4) to take a census and keep a record of all persons coming to and leaving the city. And over and above these he had to maintain peace and order in the city.

According to Abul Fazl also, " He (the *Kotwal*) should keep a register of houses, and frequented roads, and engage the citizens in a pledge of reciprocal assistance and bind them to a common participation of weal and woe." "Of every guild of artificers, he should name one as guild master and another as broker, by whose intelligence the business of purchase and sale should be conducted." "He shall discover thieves and goods they have stolen or be responsible for the loss." "He should use his discretion in the reduction of prices and not allow purchases to be made outside the city." And "he shall examine the weights."[1] According to a Farman addressed by Akbar to all his officers, the *Kotwal* was required to supervise the purchase and sale of goods.[2] The *Kotwal* should according to Dastur-ul Aml, "summoning the watchmen and sweepers, take bonds from them that they should daily report to him the occurrences of every *mahalla* (ward of the city) without suppression or exaggeration." "Do justice," the *Kotwal* is advised, "that people may liken you to a quazi in the power of arriving at the truth of a case. On the public streets of the cities post careful men to act as watchmen from sunset to 9 P.M. and 9 P.M. to dawn, to scrutinise the wayfarers and arrest those whom they consider to be thieves and evil-doers, and bring them to you."[3] Manucci says that "it was the

[1] Jarrett, Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. II, pp. 41, 42. [2] Bird, Gujrat, p. 402.

[3] Sarkar, Mughal Administration, First Edition, pp. 94-95.

kotwal's business to stop the distillation of arrack (spirits) the *eau-de-vie* used in the Indies. * * He obtains information about all that goes on so as to be able to send in his report. * * He also has the duty of arresting thieves and criminals. * * It is also his business to collect the income from the town."[4]

A comparison of the above two lists, the Maratha and the Mughal, of the Kotwal's duties leaves but little doubt that the Maratha Kotwal had to perform almost the same duties as those entrusted to his Muslim brother in a Mughal town. We have noticed elsewhere that the Maratha Kotwal's duties were to a great extent similar to those of the Nagaraka, the Mauryan Town Prefect. But it is doubtful whether the Marathas went so far from their own times in search of their ideal for a Police officer when it was easily available in the neighbouring Mughal cities.

2. *Compensation for stolen property:*

We may also take note of a police rule of undoubted antiquity which was adopted by the Mughal rulers of India. Whenever anything was stolen it was the duty of the police officers of the place to recover the property or compensate the owner for his loss. This compensation was on rare occasions paid out of the state funds but more generally by the Policemen concerned. The Ain-i-Akbari lays down, "He (the kotwal) shall discover thieves and the goods they have stolen or be responsible for the loss." Manucci tells us that loss from robbery was compensated by the state during Shah Jahan's reign.[5] The same writer, whose statement is based on actual observation, says of the Kotwal, "If any one is robbed within the bounds of his jurisdiction, he is forced to make good what has been taken."[6] The Faujdars who supervised roads had similar responsibilities. Manucci informs us, "These *faujdars* have to supervise the roads, and should any merchant or traveller be robbed in day light, they are obliged to pay compensation. If robbed at night, it is the traveller's fault for not having halted earlier, and he loses all, without his complaints being heard."[7] This practice survived in the Central Indian principalities till the middle of the 19th century. The Maratha policy towards such criminal tribes as the Kolis and the Bhils who infested their frontier was also an inheritance from the Muhammadan rulers they had replaced.[8]

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[4] Manucci, ed. Irvine, Vol. II, pp. 420-421. Mr. Ramsbotham tells me that Eau-de-vie is more generally used for brandy, arrack was a rough kind of rum.

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[5] Manucci, ed. Irvine, Vol. I, p. 204.

[6] Manucci, ed. Irvine, Vol. II, p. 4.

[7] Manucci, ed. Irvine, Vol. II, p. 451.

[8] Bird, Statistical Hist. of Gujrat, pp. 409 ff.

3. *Mutilation*:

From the Police let us turn to the punishment inflicted on thieves detected or arrested by them. Thieves often suffered capital punishment towards the close of the Peshwa period. Capital punishment for the same offence was by no means an exception under the Mughal days. Manucci tells us that Aurangzib decapitated no less than 500 thieves in order to "terrorise the perverse."[9] And again "Once when I was living in Lahor, fifteen thieves of this tribe were caught. They had robbed a house at midnight; they were seized and sentenced to death. When the officers of justice were taking them to be executed in front of that very house, they passed in front of my door."[10]

Mutilation of criminals also was as common a practice under the Mughals as under the Marathas. Jahangir ordered his *amirs* "Not to punish any person by ordering him to be blinded or to have his nose or ears cut off."[11] But the Wakiat-i-Jahangiri gives at least one instance of the Emperor's inflicting a terribly cruel punishment on an unfortunate Hindu offender. "After conviction," says the Emperor, "I ordered that his tongue should be cut out, that he should be kept in prison for life, and that he should be fed at the same mess as the dog keepers and sweepers."[12] Nor was mutilation uncommon when Manucci wrote. The Emperor Aurangzib prohibited the sale of wine and other intoxicants and "he directed the kotwal to search out Mahomedans and Hindus who sold spirits, every one of whom was to lose one hand and one foot."[13] Convicted offenders lost their limbs during the Pathan period also as we are informed by the benevolent and humane Firuz Shah Tughlak, who put a temporary stop to this practice. "In the reigns of former kings, the blood of many Musulmans had been shed, and many varieties of torture employed. Amputation of hands and feet, ears and noses; tearing out the eyes, pouring molten lead into the throat, crushing the bones of the hands and feet with mallets, burning the body with fire, driving iron nails into the hands, feet and bosom, cutting the sinews, sawing man asunder; these and many similar tortures were practised. The great and merciful God made me, His servant, hope and seek for His mercy by devoting myself to prevent the unlawful killing of Musulmans, and the infliction of any kind of torture upon them or upon any men."[14] Mutilation was a common punishment in the Kingdom of Golkonda and Manucci says that a Persian lost his offending hand for giving a slap to a Hindu who had given him offence.[15]

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[9] Manucci, ed. Irvine, Vol. II, p. 421.

[10] Manucci, ed. Irvine, Vol. II, p. 458.

[11] Elliot & Dowson, Vol. VI, p. 325.

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[12] Elliot & Dowson, Vol. VI, p. 314

[13] Manucci, ed. Irvine, Vol. II, p. 6.

[14] Elliot & Dowson, Vol. III, p. 375.

4. *Trial by Ordeal :*

In the administration of justice, "Akbar encouraged the use of trial by ordeal in the Hindu fashion." [16] Ordeal by heated metal was commonly resorted to by the ignorant people of Sind even after the Muhammadan conquest of that province. Ali Sher Kani, the author of *Tuhfatu-l Kiram* writes, "An ordeal, still practised among the most ignorant, is that of taking a red-hot spade. Green leaves of a tree are tied on to the hand of the suspected person with raw thread, and an iron spade, heated to redness, being then placed on his palm, he must carry it for several spaces quickly and it has often been seen that neither the thread nor the leaves have been in the slightest degree affected by the heat of the red-hot iron, although when cast to the ground it scorched it like the sand in the oven of a parcher of grain." [17] James Forbes, an intelligent observer of Indian customs and manners, says that trial by ordeal was allowed under Muhammadan Governments.[18] And the Maratha documents show that trial by ordeal was very common under Southern Muhammadan potentates. Trial by ordeal is distinctly opposed to the principles of Islam though one may come across a rare instance of taking an oath after circumambulating the Kaba in vindication of one's innocence. Jalal-uddin Khilji wanted Siddy Mowla and his accomplices to undergo a fire ordeal. Ferishta gives the following account of that affair: "The king caused both Siddy Mowla and Kazy Julal-ood-Deen Kashany to be apprehended, and brought before him for examination. They persisted in their innocence, and as no other witness appeared against them, the accusation was rendered doubtful. The king, therefore, caused a fire to be prepared in the plain of Bahadurpoor, in order that they might be submitted to the fiery ordeal to purge themselves of their guilt; and having left the city to see the ceremony, he ordered a circle to be railed off round the pile. Siddy Mowla and the other accused were then brought, in order that they might walk through the flames to prove their innocence. Having said their prayers, they were just about to plunge into the fire, when the king stopped them, and turning to his ministers, asked, if it was lawful to try Mussulmans by the fiery ordeal?

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[15] Manucci, ed. Irvine, Vol. III, p. 131.

[16] V. A. Smith, Akbar the Great Mogul, p. 345.

[17] Elliot & Dowson, Vol. I, pp. 329-330.

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[18] Oriental Memoirs, Vol. II, pp. 389-399.

They unanimously declared, that it was the nature of fire to consume, paying no respect to the righteous more than to the wicked; and they also pronounced the practice to be heathenish, and contrary to the Mahomedan law, as well as to reason."[19] Probably this heathenish practice was confined among the Hindus and was not resorted to, as in the above case, if the parties concerned were Muhammadans. The only logical conclusion possible under the circumstances is that the Southern Muhammadan rulers had simply helped the survival of trials by ordeal in the Deccan and were in no way responsible for its introduction.

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[19] Briggs, Ferishta, Vol. 1, p. 299.

CHAPTER V.

THE KARKHANAS.

1. The Council:

We have seen how in their revenue system, military and police organisation the Marathas had been influenced by Muhammadan ideas and Indian Muslim practices. Other departments had not been unaffected. Most of the members of the Ashta Pradhan Council had Muhammadan designations before these were replaced by new Sanskrit designations at the time of Shivaji's coronation. But even then later heads of the Maratha Empire were known to the world outside, by their Muslim designation of the Peshwa while the Sanskrit Mukhya Pradhan seems to have been used in state papers alone. Even during the Peshwa period such Persian designations as Dabir and Surnis had not altogether fallen into disuse while, provincial governors were known, like their Mughal brothers as Subhedars. Karkuns, Kamavisdars and Mamlatdars are words of Persian origin and must have been borrowed from the Muslims. Though the Astha Pradhan Council owed its origin to Hindu ideas and Hindu works on polity, its original members, the

Peshwa, the Dabir, the Surnis, the Waknis, the Mazumdar and the Sar-i-Naubtat had at first been appointed in imitation of the Muhammadan courts of the South. Thus inspite of its later re-organisation Shivaji's council never lost its original Muslim impress.

2. *State Documents:*

We have seen in a preceding Book how every royal grant, sanad, and other papers had to be signed and sealed by the several Pradhans or ministers of state and how the accounts of the Provincial Government had to be passed by the several *Darakhdars.* This practice was in all probability derived from the Muhammadans. Under Akbar every parwanah and barat had to be signed and sealed by several officers and it will not be altogether unreasonable to infer that the later Maratha practice originated from the previous Muhammadan one. Let us now see what exactly the Muhammadan officers did or were expected to do with regard to the above-mentioned documents. Abul Fazl writes "The *Sarkhats* are entered in the daftars of all *Sub-Bakshis* and are distinguished by particular marks. The *Diwan* then keeps the *Sarkhat* with himself, prepares an account of the annual and monthly salary due on it and reports the matter to His Majesty. If His Majesty gives the order to confer a jagir on the person specified in the Sarkhat, the following words are entered on the top of the report :—*Ta' liqah i-tan-qalmi numayand.* This order suffices for the clerks; they keep the order, and make out a draft to that effect. The draft is then inspected by the Diwan who verifies it by writing on it the words *sabt numayand.* The mark of the Daftar and the seal of the Diwan, the Bakshi and the Accountant of the Diwan are put on the draft in order, when the Imperial grant is written on the outside. The draft thus completed is sent for signature to the Diwan.[1] Other instances of this practice will be found in the same Ain.[2] About the order of the seals Abul Fazl writes, "Farmans, Parwanchas, and Barats, are made into several folds beginning from the bottom. On the first fold which is less broad, at a place towards the edge where the paper is cut off, the vakil puts his seal; opposite to it but a little lower, the Mushrif of the Diwan puts his seal in such a manner that half of it goes to the second fold. Then in like manner, but a little lower, comes the seal of the Cadr. * * * The Mir Mal, the Khan Samman, the Parwanchi, etc. seal on the second fold, but in such a manner that a smaller part of their seal goes to the first fold. The seals of the Diwan, and the

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[1] Blochmann, Aini-i-Akbari, Vol. I, p. 261.

[2] *Ibid*, pp. 262-263.

Bakshi do not go beyond the edge of the second fold, whilst the Diwan-i-Juz, the Bakshi-i-Juz and the Diwan-i-Buyutal put their seals on the third fold. The Mustaufi puts his seal on the fourth, and the Cahib-i-Tauji on the fifth fold. The seal of His Majesty is put above the Tughra lines on the top of the Farman where the princes also put their seals in Taliqahs." [8] The Marathas, so far as we know, did not go to such niceties in affixing their seals, but in their case too every paper passed through several hands and several officers sealed it before it became legally valid. In spite of this slight difference even a cursory comparison will convince every one that the Muhammadan rule was the progenitor of the Maratha practice.

3. *Karkhanas :*

Let us now turn to the Karkhanas. There were eighteen of them and twelve mahals, as we have seen in Book I, and both of these terms are of Persian extraction. First organised in Shivaji's time they continued down to the close of the Peshwa period. They had been, in all probability, most of them copied from Muslim originals. Mr. Beveridge tells me that all of them had Persian synonyms. Firuz Shah Tughalak had thirty-six Karkhanas or royal establishments. The treasury (Khajina of Sabhasad), the treasury for precious stones (jawahir khana, Sabhasad), the mint (Tanksal, Sabhasad), the Harem (Daruni, Sabhasad), the Farash Khanah, the Abdar Khanah, the Imperial kitchen (Mudbak khana, Sabhasad), the Arsenal, the elephant stables (pilkhana), the horse stables, the camel stables, the gaukhana or cowsheds, are mentioned in the Ain-i-Akbari as forming different departments. A Mir Shikar[4] is mentioned and the mention of hunting leopards and falcons under the same Ain leaves but little doubt that here we find the origin of Shivaji's Shikarkhana. Sabhasad, unlike Abul Fazl, gives no detailed account of these departments. But so far as the Shikarkhana is concerned the necessary informations can be fortunately culled from a much later work, the Peshwas' Bakhar. In the Shikarkhana of the second Madhava Rao, were seven or eight talking Mynahs and talking green parrots. There were several Chandols, (the pyramid-crested wood lark), several ducks, cormorants, several pairs of peacocks, one hundred or two hundred deer, hunting leopards, tigers and rabbits.[5] An adequate number of keepers were appointed to look after these animals. This bakhar also tells us that these leopards were used for hunting. Although this small menagerie offers but a poor comparison to the grand hunting department of Akbar consisting of hundreds of animals and birds, yet there is little doubt that the Peshwa's Shikarkhana was an imitation of that of the Mughal Emperor.

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[8] Blochmann, Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. I, pp. 263-264.

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[4] Blochman, Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. I, p. 282.

[5] Peshwanchi Bakhar, ed. Sane, pp. 111-112.

In fact the Mughal influence had so strongly pervaded the different strata of the Hindu society that it could be perceived in their dress, in their manners and even in their religion and festivities. Thus a discerning observer might notice it even in the coronation darbar of Shivaji, the founder of the Hindu Padshahi and the recognised leader of the Hindu revivalists. While describing Shivaji's coronation Prof. Jadunath Sarkar remarks, "The coverings of the royal seat were a grotesque combination of Hindu asceticism and modern Mughal luxury: tiger skin below and velvet on the top!" But this was not all. "On the two sides of the throne, various emblems of royalty and government were hung from gilded lance-heads. On the right hand stood two large fish heads of gold with very big teeth, on the left several horses' tails (the insignia of royalty among the Turks) and a pair of gold scales on a very costly lance-head (the enblem of justice). All these had been copied from the Mughal court. At the palace gate were placed on either hand pitchers full of water covered with bunches of leaves, and also two young elephants and two beautiful horses, with gold bridles and rich trappings. These latter were auspicious tokens according to Hindu ideas."[6]

This was typical of the whole Maratha administrative system. It was a happy combination of Hindu and Muhammadan institutions. The Muslim conquerors came to India with readymade principles of government and finance but they were confronted in their new home with another set of principles and ideas, much older and in a sense more systematic than their own. To their credit they did not reject these old ideas that prevailed in their newly conquered kingdom nor did they set themselves to enforce their own principles at the point of the sword. When two civilisations meet under such circumstances they naturally interact on each other. The result was that while the Muhammadans borrowed something from their Hindu subjects, the Hindus in their turn got much in return from their Muslim rulers. Hindu influence was evident in the Muhammadan Government and many Muhammadan sects and subsects in India.[7] And Muslim influence was equally evident in the

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[6] Sarkar, Shivaji, First ed., p. 277.

[7] The Timuride princes of Delhi had imbibed during their long sojourn in India many of the superstitious beliefs of the original Hindu inhabitants of the country. Their belief in astrology was probably characteristic of that age, but Sir Thomas Roe, the English ambassador at the Court of the Emperor Jahangir, speaks of one superstitious rite

Hindu literature of the time, in the Vaishnavism of Chaitanya and the Sikhism of Nanak. The Marathas founded their kingdom when this process of mutual influence and interaction had had free play for several centuries. And so in their literature, in their language, in their dress and customs. Muslim influence was clearly visible,

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that is still current among the native Hindus and was undoubtedly of Hindu origin. Writes Sir Thomas Roe—"Then the king descended the staires with such an acclamation of Health to the king, as would have out-cryed cannons. At the staires foote, where I met him, and shuffled to be next, one brought a mighty carpe, another a dish of white stuffe like starch, into which he put his finger, and touched the fish, and so rubbed it on his fore-head; a ceremony used presaging good fortune." In that "mighty carpe" and "a dish of white stuffe like starch" it is not difficult to identify a *Rohit* fish and a pot of '*Dadhi*,' things of good omen that every orthodox Hindu likes to touch and look upon when he sets forth from his home for a new place, even to-day. The Hindu and Muhammadan had lived side by side for so many centuries that they had naturally learnt to tolerate and unconsciously imbibe each other's social customs, common beliefs and even superstitious rites, and the process must have begun long before the conquest of India by Babar and his immediate successors. Towards the close of Tughlak period, the Muhammadans of India had earned such a notoriety for their heathenish practice among their co-religionists outside India that Timur regarded his invasion of India as a real Jehad; according to him most of the Indian Muhammadans were no better than heathens. In the *Malfuzat-i-Timuri* we read that the expedition was directed mainly against "the infidels and polytheists of India." The Muhammadans were neither infidels nor polytheists but the same authority informs us that in this country "there were those who called themselves Mussalmans but had strayed from the Muhammadan fold." From a description of some heretics left by Firuz Shah Tughlak it appears that some of the Muhammadan heretics were influenced by the *Tantras* while others followed the Vedantic system of thought and yet others had taken to idolatry. See Hinduism and Muhammadan Heretics, Surendranath Sen, Calcutta Review, January 1924.

and in their government we naturally find a combination of two different sets of principles, indigenous and foreign, old and new, Hindu and Muhammadan. The basis was Hindu but the superstructure had many Muhammadan characteristics.

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GLOSSARY[1]

Abhayapatra—a paper promising security or impunity.

Abhiṣeka—literally ceremonial ablution, coronation.

Apṭā—a tree, *Bauhinia tomentosa*, for the origin of apṭā worship, see Valentia, Vol. II.

Bāgāyat or bāgāit—ground planted with fruit-tree or vegetables.

Bakhśīsnāmā—a deed of gift.

Bhārgava Rām—an incarnation of Viṣṇu who exterminated the fighting race for no less than twenty-one times.

Bāzār—a market.

Belbhanḍhār—a solemn oath on leaves of Bel-tree and turmeric. On one occasion even such an oath was dismissed as of little consequence by a Maratha Chief with the sarcastic remark that *bel* was but the leaf of a common tree and bhanḍhār he ate every day.

Beraḍ—a class of professional robbers, otherwise called Rāmośī.

Bhanḍārā—a feast given to the Gosāvīs or the Bairāgīs.

Bhusār—a generic term for the cereals, the grasses and the esculent culms.

Chāmbhār—a shoe-maker or skin-dresser.

Dānpatra—a deed of gift.

Darakhdār—a holder of a hereditary public office especially Diwān, Mazumdār, Faḍnīs, Sabnīs, Karkhānnīs, Chiṭnīs, Jāmdār and Potnīs.

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[1] Compiled mainly from Molesworth's Marathi-English Dictionary.

Dasrā—the tenth of the lighter half of Āśvin ; for a description of the festivities celebrated on this day, see Valentia, Vol. II, Parasnīs, Poona in Bygone Days and Gupte, Hindu Holidays and Ceremonials.

Dewāḷi, more correctly Diwāḷi or Dīpāvali—a festival with nocturnal illuminations. For a scholarly discussion of its origin, see Gupte, Hindu Holidays.

Dhangar—they are shepherds and herdsmen and weavers in wool.

Dharṇa—"The person who adopts this expedient for the purpose mentioned, proceeds to the door or house of the person against whom it is directed, or wherever he may most conveniently intercept him ; he there sits down in *dherna*, with poison, or a poignard, or some other instrument of suicide, in his hand ; and threatening to use it if his adversary should attempt to molest or pass him, he thus completely arrests him. In this situation the brahmin fasts ; and by the rigour of the etiquette, which is rarely infringed, the unfortunate object of his arrest ought also to fast ; and thus they both remain until the institutor of the *dherna* obtains satisfaction." Lord Teignmouth, quoted by Forbes, Oriental Memoirs, Vol. II, p. 391. Lord Teignmouth laboured under the idea that only Brahmans could institute a dharṇā. This is a mistake, even a Muhammadan creditor could sit in dharṇā at the gate of his Brahman debtor.

Farmān—a royal mandate, commission, or patent.

Gālichā—a small variegated carpet of wool upon a cotton ground.

Gaṇeś and Gaur—Gaṇeś is the elephant-headed son of Śiva and Gauri. He is the god of wisdom and remover of all difficulties. For the ceremonies connected with Gaṇeś and Gaurī, see Gupte, Hindu Holidays.

Gardi—an infantry soldier trained in European methods of warfare.

Ghāṇā—an oil mill.

Ghāsdānā—a contribution like the Chauth levied by Maratha chiefs.

Gondhḷi—a caste or an individual of it. They are musicians and singers and makers of Goṇdhaḷ.

Gunhegāri—a fine.

Gurav—a caste among Śudras. They are employed in the service of the temple and are worshippers of Śiva.

Hakkadār—Any one having a claim or a right.

Harijāgaraṇ—vigil kept in the lunar days named *ekādaśī* in honour of Hari or Viṣṇu.

Harkī—money paid to the court, in token of gratification by the successful suitor or litigant.

Hāsīl—a tax or duty.

Hom—offerings made to gods particularly in form of libation thrown into fire.

Hoṇ—a gold coin, also called Pagoda. See Prinsep, Useful Tables, price commonly between three and five Rupees.

Huzur—the royal court or presence-chamber : also the royal person or the regal office and excellency as personified or as viewed concretely answering to *His Majesty*, *The Government*, etc.

Inām—a grant in perpetuity.

Jābtā—a regulation, law, statute, also a schedule ; a describing statement.

Jāsud—a scout.

Jawār—a plant and its grain, *Holcus sorghum*.

Jirāyat also Jirāīt—a land fit for agriculture as distinguished from bāgāyat land.

Kanyādān—giving away of a daughter.

Kārkun—a clerk, scribe.

Kārkhānā—a royal establishment as Prof. Dowson translates it. Prof. Sarkar translates kārkhānā as a factory in his *Mughal Administration*, but the Marathas classed even the zenana as a kārkhānā (see Ramchandra Pant Amatya's Rājnīti) and therefore Prof. Dowson's translation is quite appropriate.

Kasbā—the chief town of a Parganā.

Kaṭyār—a dagger.

Kaul—a writing of assurance, agreement or engagement as granted by Government, but in the Deccan this word was sometimes used in a still wider sense, see Ananda Ranga Pillai's Diary.

Khār—salt, mineral or vegetable.

Khārīp—the autumnal harvest.

Khelāt—a robe of honour.

Khijmatgār—a servant.

Khot—a farmer of land revenue, for particulars see Bombay Gazetteer.

Killedār—officer in charge of a fort.

Koḷī—either a hillman of that tribe or a caste or individual thereof who supply water.

Kumbhār— a potter.

Kuṇbī—a peasant.

Lohār—a blacksmith.

Mahāl—a small subdivision, or a Government department as in the twelve Mahals.

Majālasī—a royal court or an assembly; also an assembly in general of great, learned or respectable persons.

Māḷī—a florist, a gardener.

Maṅtra—an incantation or a mystical verse, a spell,

Mārtaṇḍa—the sun god.

Maujā—a village.

Māwalī—an inhabitant of Māwal.

Mokāśi—the holder of a mokāsā (rent-free land) or the farmer of the revenue of it on the part of the person holding or of the state.

Mokdam properly Mukaddam, a title of the Pātil or the managing authority of a village.

Muhūrta—the second marriage of a Śudra widow.

Mujāvar—a sweeper of a mosque.

Mukkām—A residence or encampment.

Muśāhirā—a salary or a stipend.

Naivedya—an offering of some eatable to an idol.

Nala (Nālā)—A deep ditch.

Nāñgar—a plough.

Nazar—a present to a superior.

Nhāvī—a barber.

Oḍhā—a pit.

Pāgoṭā—a turban.

Pānsupārī—a term for betel leave and all the ingredients composing the roll, a small bribe.

Pārasnis—a Persian Secretary.

Parīṭ—a washerman.

Parwārī—a village watchman, gate-keeper or porter.

Pāṭ—a second and inferior sort of marriage among widows of the lower classes.

Paṭṭī—a tax or cess.

Polā—an agricultural festival, bullocks are on that day exempted from labour, variously decorated and paraded.

Prāyaśchitta—a penance.

Rabī—the vernal crop.

Rājināmā—agreement.

Rāmośī—see under Beraḍ.

Rupees—Chāndvaḍ seems to be the Chandory Rupee of Prinsep's list; its weight was 172 grains and its intrinsic value 95·939. Malhārśāi derived its name from Malhar Rao Holkar its weight also was 172 grains but its intrinsic value was 93·646. The old Surat Rupee weighed 144·50 grains and its purity was 99·367. See Prinsep's Useful Tables.

Sanad—a commission or a warrant.

Sangā—a cloth.

Saṅgam—the confluence of rivers.

Sarañjām—villages granted for maintaining an army.

Sarkārkūn—a minister.

Sāyvān—an awning, canopy.

Seer (Ser)—a Bombay seer = 11 oz. 3½ dr. 40 seers make a maund, a Poona seer = 1 lb. 15 oz. 8½ dr.

Shanti (Śānti)—an appeasing ceremony.

Sherni (Śerṇī)—same as Harkī.

Shelā (Śelā)—a sort of scarf.

Shiralshet (Śirālśeṭ)—a corndealer who became king for about an hour, an earthen image of him is worshipped and then thrown into a well or tank.

Shirpav (Śirpāv)—a turban bestowed by a Raja or grandee as a mark of favour.

Shradh (Śrāddha)—a funeral ceremony consisting of offerings of water and food to the manes.

Sinhastha—the position of the planet Jupiter in the sign of Leo.

Sonār—a goldsmith.

Sūtār—a carpenter.

Swāmi—Master equivalent to your Majesty or your Highness.

Tabrūk—presents from a Pīr's shrine by way of a blessing.

Tagri (Tāgḍī)—a balance or pair of scales.

Ṭāk—a weight equal to about a grain.

Tāṅḍel—boatswain.

Tape—a small subdivision or district.

Ṭhāṇā—the head station of a tālukā: also a post, station or lodge under the civil authority.

Til—*Sesamum orientale*, the plant and the seed pot have been nicely shown in a plate in Forbes, Oriental Memoirs.

Ṭiḷak—a mark made with coloured earth or unguents upon the forehead.

Toran—a lintel.

Tuḷaśī—A shrub venerated by the Hindus. Ocymum Sanctum.

Upādhye—A priest.

Varāt—An assignment or order upon the revenues or a treasury.

Varṣhāsan—An annual allowance or stipend granted to Brahmans.

Vavri (vāvḍī)—a paper kite or ornamental paper work.

Wafa—(Vāphā) literally the pit which receives the boiled juice of the sugarcane, hence an indefinite measure.

Wakīl—an envoy or deputy.

Watan—an hereditary estate, office, right, due; any hereditary right whether in land or in office.

Watandār—one who has a watan.

Yādī—a memorandum, a list, roll.

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INDEX

Abul Fazl—on the duties of a revenue collector, 595-596 ; on the system of special rates for some special crops, 611 ; on the assessment of *chachar* land, 613 ; on the assessment of *banjar* land, 613 ; on the duties of the *Patawari* of a village, 615 ; on Akbar's method of enlistment of soldiers in his army, 635 ; on the system of payment in the Mughal army, 636 ; on the Mughal system of branding horses, 642 ; on the duties of the *Kotwal*, 647-648 ; on the Kotwal's responsibility for stolen property, 650 ; on the Mughal system of signing and inspecting state documents, 657-659 ; on the Mughal Karkhanas or royal establishments, 660.

Adultery—punishment in Maharashtra under the Peshwas, 387-388 ; and 560-561 ; the sanction of the old Hindu lawgivers like Kautilya, Manu and Apastamba for these punishments, 561-564.;

Alberuni—gives an interesting account of the manners and customs of the Hindus and mentions trial by ordeal, 574.

Angria—their naval power, 160-161 ; destruction of their fleet by the Peshwa and the English, 162-163 ; 205-206 ; Maratha naval power at its zenith under the Angrias, 434.

Annaji Datto—Sachiv ; entrusted with the work of surveying the Konkan, 80-81 ; his principle of assessment, 89.

Apastamba—on the duties of village officers, 509 ; on punishment for adultery, 563; on trial by ordeal, 572.

Army—organisation of the Maratha army under Shivaji, 127-157 ; forts and strongholds, 127-142 ; cavalry and infantry, 142-149 ; spy system, 145 ; arms and equipments, 145-146 ; the feudal forces of the Maratha watandars, 146-147 ; Shivaji's system of payment to his soldiers, 147-148 ; his military regulations and their effects, 149-157 ; the army of the Peshwa, 439-469 ; its feudal character, 439-440 ; foreigners in the Peshwa army 440-451 ; Darakhdars and the nature of their check on the Saranjamis (feudal sardars), 457 ; cavalry and infantry under the Peshwas, 450-455; advent of mercenary soldiers and want of discipline, 449-451 ; the Pendharis, 457 ; their profession of plunder and depredation 457-458; injuries and harm caused to the people by the Maratha army, 458 ; system of pay and pension to the army under the Peshwas, 459 ; forts, 459-461 ; the artillery, 461-464, change in the character of the Maratha army—defects of the system under the Peshwas, 464-469 ; system of military intelligence, 469-470 ; the nature and extent of the survival of the conventional practices and principles of the old Hindu tacticians and theorists in the military organisation of the Marathas : Bargir and Shiledar : system of pension to minor children and widows : the Pendharis and chortas, 548-553 ; Muhammadan influence on the military organisation : Mansab and Saranjam, method of enlistment : system of payment : Mulukhgiri : reward for military services ; pension : branding of horses : the Shiledars and Pendharis, 632-646.

Ashta Pradhan Council—its history, constitution, and functions, 39-46. Ranade's comparison of the Ashta Pradhan council with the Viceroy's Executive council examined, 46-49 ; duties of the Pradhans, 49-56 ; addition of the Pratinidhi to the council, 56; Pradhans had under them the Karkhanas and Mahals, 59-61 ; Pradhans assisted by a staff of eight clerks, 62 ; weakness of the system ; it required a strong and good ruler, 62-64 ; its indebtedness in the matter of its reorganisation to the works of old Hindu political thinkers, 488-492 ; it is not a mere imitation of Shukra's institution, 491-492; Muhammadan influence on Shivaji's organisation of the Ashta Pradhan council, 656-657.

Assessment (principle of)—Muhammadan influence on the Maratha principle of assessment, 612-614.

Baji Rao I—makes the Peshwa's position superior to that of other councillors, 197-198.

Baji Rao II—187, 189; the miserable condition of the imperial Daftar under him, 271; upsets the benevolent revenue system of the Peshwas 306; its results, *ibid*; his regulations about marriage in the Brahman community 404-405; strictly forbids exaction of marriage dowry, 415; his consideration for prisoner's health, 420-421; his measures for the improvement of the Maratha police, 430; remarks of Blacker, Prinsep and Tone on the foreign mercenaries in the Maratha army during his reign, 449-451; spends about four lakhs of rupees in Dakshana grants, 471; efficiency of the city police at Poona under him, 523.

Bakhars—their utility, 2-5.

Balaji Avji—Shivaji's Chitnis or Secretary 56-57; the duties of his office enumerated by Malhar Ram Rao Chitnis, 57-58; a memorandum enumerating the writing duties of the Chitnis, 65-71; 493.

Balaji Baji Rao—198; his partiality towards Brahmans 289-290; a chart of the rates of mohatarfa during his administration, 322-323; his circular letter on Zakat, 324-325; encouragement to new traders, 333; cases of false complaints in his Diaries, 382-383; his naval policy, 434-435; old manuscripts for his library, 472.

Balaji Vishwanath—197; makes the Peshwaship hereditary in his family, *ibid*.

Balutas—their perquisites and their antiquity, 521.

Baudhayan—531.

Bhushan—author of Shiva Raj Bhushan, 8-9.

Bigamy and forcible marriage—instances of the above and their punishment, 391-393.

Blacker (Lt.-Colonel)—on the total revenue of the Maratha Empire, 343; on foreign mercenaries in the Maratha army, 449-450.

Brihaspati—on the procedure in civil suits, 567-568; on the laws of evidence, 569-570; on trial by ordeal, 573.

Broughton—on Sindhia's camp, 150; on Maratha army, 156; on Maratha officers' love of bribes, 257-258; on "Dharna," 371; on the Maratha judicial system, 375; on the condition of slaves in Sindhia's territory, 389-390; on the postal system and the system of military intelligence of the Peshwas, 470.

Cesses—a list of, 83-88; and their antiquity, 532-539; Muhammadan influence on the imposition of cesses and dues in Maharashtra, 621-630.

The Chaugula—his duties, 228.

Chauth (and Sardesmukhi)—origin and history of, 111-118; their divisions and sub-divisions, 276-277.

Chitragupta—his bakhar an elaboration of Sabhasad's work, 3, 58.

Dadaji Konddev—29; his indebtedness to Malik Ambar, 79.

Darakhdars—the duties of their office, 259.

Dr. Dellon—a French physician, 10; an account of his travels, *ibid*.

Deshmukh and Deshpande—history of their office, 243; their work as friends of the Rayats, 244; their duties, 245-247; their rights and perquisites, 247-251;

Dirom (Major)—on the inefficiency of the Maratha artillery, 463-464.

Elliot (and Dowson)—their history of India, 10.

Elphinstone (M.)—on Maratha camps, 149; on Maratha village communities, 212; on Deshmukhs, 243; on their rights and perquisites, 247-248; on Mamlatdar's sources of profit, 264; on Maratha land revenue system, 305; on Panchayets, 355; on the Maratha judicial system and its defects, 369; his strictures on the judicial system of the Marathas examined, 373-375 and 378; on the comparative absence of crimes in Maharashtra, 378; on prisons, 418; on the efficiency of the Maratha police system, 426; his remarks on the Maratha police, 430; on the efficiency and honesty of the metropolitan police at Poona, 431; maintains a pathshala at Poona for imparting Sanskrit learning out of the Dakshana grant, 471. His estimate of the total revenue of the Maratha Empire, 342-343;

Evidence—rules about it in Maharashtra and their antiquity, 358-363; and 568-570.

Ferishta—his account of a trial by ordeal, 654-655.

Fitzclarence—A Journey through India, 181; on the condition of the Peshwa's territory, 273; on the use of stone as a weapon of defence, 478; his comparison of the Raja of Satara with the "*rois faineants*" of France and the Peshwas with Mayors of Palace, 478-479.

Forbes—On the pomp and luxury of the Maratha army, 465-468; on Ghasiram's case, 429-430; his "*Oriental Memoirs*," 181, 477; on the system of trial by ordeal under Muhammadan Governments, 653-654.

Forrest (Sir G.)—"*State Papers*," 182, the "*Life of Lord Clive*," 478.

Fryer—an English physician and traveller; his account of Shivaji's dominions, 20, 90; his charge against Shivaji's revenue officers, 100-104; his view criticised, 104-106; on Shivaji's army, 140, 155-156; on Shivaji's fleet, 159; on the Maratha officers' inordinate love of presents, 257-258.

Gaga Bhatta—author of *Shiva Raj Prashasti*, 7.

Gautama—on the king's duty of protecting the castes and orders, 558.

Gordon (Captain, William)—on the revenue policy of the Peshwa, 273. On the Peshwa's Factories for manufacturing cannons and cannon balls, 462.

Grant (Mr. J.)—his estimate of the total revenue of the Maratha Empire, 342.

Grant Duff—Political Agent at Satara; his *History of the Marathas*, 24, 182.

Heber (Reginald)—on the character of Maratha peasants, 481; his "*Narrative of a Journey,*" 481.

Hope (Dr.)—on the simplicity of the old Maratha judicial system, 378-379.

Imperial Secretariat—its organisation and sub-departments, 267-271.

Irvine (William)—*The Army of the Indian Moghuls*, 477; on the Mughal practice of rewarding soldiers for military services, 639-640; on the constitution of the Mughal army, 643; on the constitution of the Maratha army, 644; on the Bidaris in the Mughal forces, 645.

Jagdales—their family hitsory, 30-33.

Jai Shingh—184.

Jamenis—the duties of his office, 260-261.

Jedhe Yanche Shakavali—6.

Jedhes (of Rohidkhore)—their history and their family quarrels, 33-34.

Jenkins—on the condition of slaves at Nagpur, 390; his *Report on the Territories of the Rajah of Nagpore*, 181: on the political independence of the Bhonsla rulers of Nagpur, 479-480; on the character of Maratha peasants, 481.

Jervis—his *Geographical and Statistical memoir of the Konkun*, 21; its value, 21-22; on Shivaji's land survey, 90-93.

Judicial System: (see under Shivaji and under the Peshwa) its antiquity: its basis on the old Hindu institutions, 554-579.

Kamavisdar and Mamlatdar—the history of their office, 252; their pay, 253-56; their duties, 257-258: the system of beheda and rasad—a check on the Kamavisdar and Mamlatdar, 263-265; the system of their transfer from one district to another, 265-266; their office—a link between the local authorities and the central Government, 266; instructions to Kamavisdars and Mamlatdars at the time of their appointment, 278-280.

Karkhanas (and Mahals)—their organisation 494-495; their antiquity 496-497; probable Muhammadan influence on their organisation, 659-660; a description of the Shikarkhana of the Second Madhav Rao, 660-661.

Kauls—the indebtedness of the Marathas to the Mughals for this excellent practice of granting Kauls to frightened peasants 620-621.

Kautilya—on the council of ministers 488-489; on the official duties of a Lekhaka, 493; on the duties of superintendents of different departments, 496-497; on the construction of a capital town, 500; on the duties and responsibilities of the village headman, 510; on the duties of the examiner of coins, 513-514; on the king's taxes from villages, 516-517; on the duties of the Nagaraka (the head of the city police) 523-524; on the duties of the Gopa (village accountant), 526-527; on road cess, 534; on military cess, 534-535; on oil cess, etc., 535; on octroi duties, 539; on the encouragement of agriculture 543; on the improvement of irrigation facilities and the reclamation of waste lands, 544; on the duties of the superintendent of commerce, 546-547; on the appointment of many officers with each military unit, 549; on the system of granting pension, to minor children and widows of fallen soldiers, 550; recommends the use of brave thieves and wild tribes in war, 551; on the system of punishing the offenders' relatives, 558; on punishments for adultery, 561-562; on the rights of slaves, 565; on the rules about evidence, 568-569.

Kayastha Prabhunche Bakhar—5.

Kennedy—(Pringle)—his *History of the Great Moghuls*, 25, 76-77.

Khafi Khan—10; on the taxes and cesses prohibited by Aurangzib, 626.

Khando Ballal—4.

Kincaid—his *History of the Maratha People*, 25.

Kotwal—the antiquity of his office and duties, 522-523; efficiency of the city police at Poona under the regime of Baji Rao II, 523; testimony of Tone, *ibid*; the origin of his office 647; an enumeration of his duties, 647-649.

Kulkarni—next to Patil in rank, 225; his rights and perquisities, 226-228; the derivation of the term, 506-507; the duties of his office, 507, 513.

Lakshman Bhikaji—Mamlatdar of Wan and Dindori, 602; the instructions laid down for his guidance, 602-603; their resemblance with the Mughal system, 603-604.

Land Revenue and cesses—their antiquity and their basis on the old Hindu system in Maharashtra, 525-547; the nature and extent of Muhammadan influence on, 593-631.

Macleod (Mr. J.)—On the Peshwa's daftar, 267, 271.

Madhav Rao I—188; his special treatment of Brahmans, 289-290; his remission of rent to cultivators, 296; grants compensation to villagers. 299; relieves Maratha peasants of forced labour, 305; his circular letter on coins, 321; excommunicates people for not observing mourning for a death, 403; his naval policy, 435; tries to put a check to the indiscriminate distribution of Dakshana, 471; makes a monthly grant for making copies of old books, 472; abolishes forced labour, 532.

Madhav Rao II—189-190; his attitude towards the Raja of Satara, 193-194; his suicide, 196; his improvement of agriculture, 279; attempts for the reclamation of waste lands, 292-293; grants compensation to villagers, 299; orders the repairing of roads, 331; his order to stop the manufacture of liquor, 339; instances of superstitious beliefs during his administration, 402; the Prabhus ordered to desist from pronouncing Vedic mantras 403; consideration for prisoner's health, 420-421; his naval policy, 436; a list of convicts condemned to lose their hands and feet under him, 556; a description of his Shikarkhana, 660-661.

Mahadaji Sindhia—185, 195; he procures for Madhav Rao II the title of vakil-i-mutluq, 196.

Mahar—his duties, 229, etymology of the term, 229-230; his rights and perquisites, 230-31.

Majumdar and Daftardar—the duties of their office, 261-263.

Malcolm—his "*Central India*," 181.

Malhar Ram Rao Chitnis—his bakhar 3 ; his *Rajniti*, *ibid*; his enumeration of the duties of chitnis, 57-58 on the official duties of Lekhaka, 494.

Malik Ambar—his revenue system, 77-78.

Manu—on the council of ministers, 489 ; on the construction of a capital town, 498 ; on the perquisites of lords of village, 516, 530 ; on the system of forced labour, 532 ; on the method of punishment by mutilation, 557-558 ; on punishment for adultery, 563-564 ; on the rules about evidence, 569 ; on trial by ordeal, 572.

Manucci—his *Storia Do Mogor*, 20 ; on the Mughal system of granting Kauls to frightened peasants, 620-621 ; on the shameless conduct of tax contractors, 628 ; on the practice of taking surety from soldiers of all rank, 635-636 ; on the system of payment in the Mughal army, 637 ; on the Mughal practice of branding horses, 642 ; on the Bederia (Bidari) of the Mughal forces, 645 ; on the duties of the *Kotwal* 648-649 ; on the system of state compensation for the loss from robbery during the reign of Shah Jahan, 650 ; on the Kotwal's responsibility for stolen property within the bounds of his jurisdiction, *ibid* ; on the responsibilities of the *Fauzdars* 650 ; on capital punishment during the Mughal days, 651 ; on the Mughal practice of mutilation of criminals, 652.

Mewji (P.V.)—his *"Sanads and Letters,"* 7 ; *"Shivaji's Swarajya,"* 26.

Mirasdar—their tenure of village lands, 237-238.

Moor (Lt. Edward) *A Narrative of the operations of Captain Little's Detachment*, 18 on the efficiency of the metropolitan police at Poona, 431 ; on European officers employed in the Peshwa's army, 443-444 ; on womenfolk and dancing girls in the Maratha army, 466.

Muhammad Hashim—Dewan of Gujrat, 600 ; an imperial farman addressed to him, 597-600.

Mulukhgiri—the etymological meaning of the term, 637; a source of income with the Muhammadan and the Maratha rulers, 637-638.

Munro (General—on the benevolent administration of the Maratha Jagirdars, 273-274.

Murshid Quli Khan—his classification of lands and his method of assessment, 611; appointment of new village headmen, 615.

Mutilation—a punishment under the Peshwas: its severity compared with that of the criminal laws of England, 394-396; becomes common under Nana Fadnavis, 556; a list of convicts condemned to lose their hands and feet under Madhav Rao II, 556; the antiquity of the punishment, 556-558; Muhammadan practice of mutilation of criminals, 651-653.

Nana Fadnavis—185-186, 195.

Narada—on the system of village police, 511; on the procedure in civil suits, 567; on the rules of evidence, 569; on trial by ordeal, 573; on fire ordeal, 576-577.

Navy—Shivaji's organisation of, 158-163 and 433-434; Maratha naval power at its zenith under Angrias, 434; naval policy of Peshwas, 434-436; salary of naval officers, 436-439.

Orme (Robert)—his *Fragments*, 20-21; on Shivaji's fleet 159; his description of Angria's fleet, 160-161.

Owen (Sydney)—his "*India on the Eve of the British Conquest*," 25.

Panchayet—its function, 350-351; its services in the administration of justice, 355; constitution of the Panchayet, 356-357; the nature and extent of its authority, 357-358; the nature of evidence before a Panchayet, 358-363; trial by ordeal, 363-368; Panchayet in criminal cases, 379-380; the probable antiquity of the Maratha village Panchayet, 566-567.

Parasnis (D.B.)—his "*Sanads and Letters*," 7; *History of the Maratha People*, 25.

Patil—his duties and functions, 213-216; the hereditary character of office, 216; his rights and perquisities ; 216-222 ; his social distinction ; 222-224 ; the responsibilities of his office, 224-225 ; the derivation of the term, 506 ; the antiquity of his official duties, 508-513 ; the perquisities of the Patil's office and their antiquity, 514-521.

Paymalli Compensation—Maratha custom of compensating aggrieved peasants and villagers for loss caused by the Peshwa's forces when encamped near a village by treading on the crops in the neighbouring fields, 605-606 ; the influence of Mughal example on this system of the Peshwas, 656-658.

Penance—the Chhatrapatis and the Peshwas as the ecclesiastical heads of the State prescribe some penance for convicted offenders, 559 ; the antiquity of this system, 559-560.

Pendharis—accompanied Peshwa army on every expedition, 457 ; an instance of their sacrilegious depredation, 457 ; they had to pay a duty of 25 p.c. of their entire booty for the license granted to them, 551 ; their long lineage and the basis of their plunder and depredations on the recommendations of Kautilya, Shukracharya and Brihaspati, 551-553 ; their prototype in the Bidari of the Mughal forces, 644-646.

Peshwa—his status and function, 196-198; rises to the real headship of the Maratha empire, 202 ; he regulates social and religious affairs, 202-204 ; consequence of the rise of the Peshwas, 204 ; the attitude of the old Sardars towards the Peshwa, 205-206 ; the nature of his control over the feudal barons, 206-208 ; the nature of his despotism, 209-211 ; the nature of his control over village communities, 242 ; revenue policy, 272 and the following ; sources of Peshwa's income, 274; improvement of agriculture, 279-282 ; system of land inspection, 281-282 ; classification and assessment of lands, 282-288 ; payment in cash usually permitted, 288 ; special treatment of Brahmans, 289-290 ; encouragement of cocoanut and other plantations, 291-292; reclamation of waste lands, 292-295; remission of rent in case of famine and other calamities, 295-298; policy of taxation, 298-299; irrigation projects, 299-301; tagai loans and their utility 301-306; Batai system, 306-307; other sources of the Peshwa's revenue—census, forests, mints, customs duties, Mohatarfa, Zakat, market-towns, monopoly, shipbuilding, excise, etc., 308-346; estimate of total revenue of the Peshwas, 342-343; facilities for the means of communication under the Peshwas, 331; administration of justice under them, 347-396; the Peshwas as the eccelesiastical heads of the state, 397; their regulation of the social affairs of the country, 398-417; their spirit of toleration, 400-401; instances of their superstitious beliefs, 401-402; eadmission of violated women to their caste, 408-409; cases of informal marriage sanctioned, 410-411; re-admission of renegades into their original caste, 412-414; exaction of dowry prohibited, 414-416; instance of forcible marriage nullified, 416; management of prisons under the Peshwas, 417-424; leave for religious duties, 418-419; consideration for the prisoner's health 419-421; treatment of political prisoners, 421-424; defect of the Maratha prison, 424; police system, 424-432; the navy, 433-439; the army, 439-469; education policy 470-471; library, 472; encouragement of the study of medicine, 472; concluding remarks on the administrative system of the Peshwas, 472-476; sources of income—land revenue and cesses, 528-546; their basis on the old Hindu system, *ibid*; encouragement and improvement of agriculture under the Peshwas: their basis on the old Hindu system 541-546: the economic policy of the Peshwas: a relic of the past, 546-547; the nature and extent of state interference in the trade of the country, *ibid*; military organisation and the survival of the conventional practices and principles of the old Hindu tracticians and theorists, 548-553; Muhammadan influence on the system of state interference in the manufacturing industries of the country, 630-631; Mughal influence on the military organisation of the Peshwa, 633-646.

Police—the village police and the district police, 424; subjugation of criminal tribes, 425-427; the Kotwal and his duties, 427-429; Elphinstone on the efficiency of the Maratha police system, 426; the abuses of Kotwal's authority, 428-429; Ghasiram's case, 429-430; Elphinstone's remarks on the Maratha police, 430; the metropolitan police of Poona: its efficiency and honesty, 431-432; testimony of William Henry Tone, Lt. Edward Moor, and Elphinstone on the well regulated metropolitan police at Poona, 431-432; the Kotwal a police Magistrate at the head of the city Police, 522; the antiquity of his office and of his duties, 522-524; the organisation of the city government based on the old Hindu system, *ibid*; efficiency of the city police at Poona under Baji Rao II, 523; Muhammadan influence on the Maratha police, 647-650.

Potdar—his duties and perquisites, 231-233; the origin of his office and the antiquity of his official duties, 513-514.

Pratap Sinha—Raja of Satara, 348; his Yadi, *ibid*.

Prisons (in Maharashtra)—management of prisons under the Peshwas, 417-424; leave for religious duties, 418-419; consideration for the prisoner's health, 419-421; treatment of political prisoners, 421-424; defects of the Maratha prison, 424.

Rajaram—197.

Raja of Satara—his status and dignity, 186-187; his miserable condition, 188-194.

Rajwade—1; importance of his research, 2; his publication of a Bakhar, 5; his examination of the Portuguese biography of Shivaji, 14.

Ram Shastri—Nyayadhish, 370; his uprightness in the administration of justice, *ibid.*

Ranade—his researches and his services to the cause of Maratha History, 22-24; his "Currencies and Mints" under Maratha Rule, 26, his comparison of Shivaji's Ashta Pradhan council with the Viceroy's Executive Council, 46-48, 76, 102; his comparison of the Chauth system with the subsidiary alliance of Wellesley, 113-116; on the official rank of the Peshwa, 197; on Shahu's administrative capacity, 200-201; on the Peshwa's partiality towards the Brahmans, 290; on the system of revenue management under the Peshwas, 305; Maratha Currency, 317-319.

Rasikdas—an imperial farman addressed to him, 601.

Rawlinson (H. G.)—his *Shivaji the Maratha*, 24.

Remission of Rent—Muhammadan influence on the Maratha system of remission of rent in times of famine and of granting rent-free land to deserving physicians, 616-620.

Revenue system—(see under Shivaji and under the Peshwas) Maratha Revenue system—a relic of the past; its basis on the recommendations of the old Hindu law-givers, 528-547; the nature and extent of Muhammadan influence on Maratha revenue principles, 593-632.

Sabhasad—(Krishnaji Ananta) his life of Shivaji, 3; his description of the anti-feudal measures of Shivaji, 38-39; his account of Shivaji's coins, 107-108; on Shivaji's fleet, 159; on the construction of Shivaji's capital town, 499; on Shivaji's land revenue system, 528; on Shivaji's appointment of three officers of equal rank over each fort, 549-550; on Shivaji's method of enlistment of soldiers 634; on Shivaji's practice of rewarding his soldiers for military services, 638-639; on Shivaji's practice of branding horses, 641-642.

Shambhaji—becomes Mughal mansabdar, 183.

Sane (Rao Bahadur)—his "*Patre Yadi Bagaire*," 7.

Sardesai—his *Marathi Riyasat*, its value, 7.

Sarkar (Jadunath)—his "*Shivaji and His Times,*" 26; his translation of two farmans in his "*Studies in Mughal India.*" 597.

Scott-Waring—5; his *History of the Marathas,* 24, 76, 128, 140; on the transfer of political power from the Satara Raja to the Peshwa, 198; on Shivaji's organisation of the navy, 433-434; and Shivaji's artillery, 140; on Peshwa Madhav Rao's Dakshana system, 471.

Shahanavkalmi—a bakhar, 4.

Shahu—184; he accepts a Mughal mansab from Farrukhsiyar, 184-185; accepts Peshwa Baji Rao's policy of expansion towards the north, 198; his administrative genius, 200; his arrangement for succession, 201-202; his measures as the ecclesiastical head of the state, 398.

Shiva Bharat—a Tamil chronicle, 9.

Shivadigvijaya—a bakhar, 3

Shivaji—his administrative system; its antiquity and character, 26-27; a builder of forts, 28; his greatness as a military leader, *ibid*; his difficulties in reorganising civil administration 34; his aims and ideals, 35-36; conquest of Mawal and a portion of Bijapur territory, 36; his anti-feudal policy, 37-39. Ashta Pradhan Council; its history, constitution and functions, 39-46; his indebtedness to Malik Ambar's revenue system, 77; his survey settlement, 80; his revenue divisions, 93-96; their officers, 93-96; his monetary system, 107-111; his military organisation, 127-157; his indebtedness to the regulations of Bijapur, 130; his spy system, 145; his military regulations 149-157; his organisation of the navy, 158-163 and 433-434; his judicial system, 164-166; his educational policy, 166-167; his achievement, 167-170; his political ideal, 183; his policy of the conservation and revival of Hindu institutions, 488; his organisation of Karkhanas and Mahals, 494-495; his capital, 498; his encouragement of agriculture, 541-542; his enlistment of deserters from his enemy's army, 632; grants no jagir for military service, 633; Muhammadan practices in his army administration 633-634; the nature and extent of his indebtedness to the Muhammadans for his method of enlistment of soldiers, 634-636; titles for military service, 640.

Shiva Kavya—written by Purushottam Kavi, 7.

Shri Shivaji Pratap—a bakhar, 4.

Shiva Raj Bhusan—written by Shivaji's Court poet Bhusan, [8—9.

Shiva Raj Prashasti—written by Gaga Bhatta, 7.

Shukraniti—its influence on Shivaji's re-organisation of his Ashta Pradhan Council, 488; its recommendation on the Council of Ministers, 489; on the construction of an ideal metropolis, 499-501; on assessment of land revenue, 527; 531; on the system of forced labour, 533; on road-cess (Vartani), 534; 541; on the encouragement of agriculture, 543; on two kinds of army, 549; on licensed thieves, 551-554; on punishment by mutilation, 556; on procedure in civil suits, 577; on the laws of evidence, 570; on the legality and the antiquity of trial by ordeal, 573.

Sindhia (Daulat Rao)—joins the Muharam procession, 401.

Slavery—conditions of slaves in the Maratha empire, 388-390; testimony of Broughton and Jenkins, 389-390; the rights of slaves and the law of manumission, 564-565; the recommendation of Chanakya, 565.

State interference—the influence of early Hindu law-givers on the nature and extent of state interference in the economic policy of the Peshwas, 546-547; Muhammadan influence on state interference in the manufacturing industries of the country under the Peshwas, 630-631.

Surat Factory Records—Their importance, 19.

Tarabai—198.

Telang (Justice)—406.

Tipu Sultan—his revenue regulations; their resemblance with those of the Peshwas, 486.

Tone (Colonel W. H.)—142 ; 195 ; on the Maratha constitution, 208 ; on the efficiency and honesty of the metropolitan police, 431-432 ; on the Peshwa army, 142 ; on the Rajput and Purvia adventurers in the Peshwa infantry, 450-51 ; on the depredations of the Maratha army, 468 ; on Sindhia's fire-locks, 462 ; on the city police under Baji Rao II, 523.

Trial by ordeal—various forms of, 363-368 ; its popularity in Southern India under the Maratha rule, 571 ; its antiquity, 571-579 ; Muhammadan rulers help its survival in the Deccan, 655 ; James Forbes on trial by ordeal, 653-654.

Valentia (Lord)—his estimate of the total revenue of the Peshwas, 342 ; his reception by Peshwa's servants, 480.

Vashishtha—on punishment for adultery, 564.

Vijayanagar (Hindu Kingdom of)—its service to the preservation of Hindu institutions, 486 ; marriage tax or Lagnapatti abolished in the 16th century, 538 ; the existence of Jangampatti under the Vijayanagar rule, 538-539 ; comes to an end in 1565, 589.

Village communities—their antiquity in Maharashtra, 37 ; their autonomy and republican institutions, 212 ; duties and functions of the village Panch, 212-213 ; their industrial organisation, 233-237 ; village land tenure—Mirasdars and Upris—237-240 ; village police system, 239-240 ; their financial arrangement, 240-242 ; their antiquity, 503-505.

Vishnu—on the function of the village headman, 509 ; on the king's taxes from villages, 517 ; 528 ; on the system of forced labour, 532-533 ; 535 ; on judicial system, 555 ; recommends punishment by mutilation, 558 ; on trial by ordeal, 572.

Wellington (Duke of)—on Maratha cultivation, 305 ; on the excellent condition of roads in Maharashtra, 331 ; on the temperance measures of the Peshwas, 472-473 ; on the corrupt practices of English officers, 473 ; on the desire of the Southern Maratha chiefs to subsidise a British force, 475.

Widow re-marriage—a common practice among the Non-Brahmans, 406-407.

Witchcraft—measures for its suppression and punishment under the Peshwas, 383-386

Youan Chwang—on land revenue in Maharashtra, 529 ; on forced labour, 533 ; gives a detailed account of different forms of ordeal, 573-574.

Zakat—its original meaning, 628 ; the object of the imposition of this tax under the Muhammadans, *ibid* ; becomes a source of income with the Maratha rulers, 629-630.

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TIMES OF INDIA ON DR. SEN'S WORKS

With one statement made by Lord Meston it would be impossible to quarrel. He referred to the new school of Indian investigators, "versed in modern criticism and exploring the field with honesty and sincerity," which he regards as one of the best fruits of the new Nationalist movement. With historians like D. R. Bhandarkar, **Surendranath Sen**, * * * —to mention only a few of those who have done admirable work—India may well claim to have established a school of research worthy of himself and her past history.—*Times of India*, quoted in the *Pioneer* of Friday, May 20. 1921 mofussil edition.

OPINIONS

Prof. A. Beriedale Keith : "I have now had the opportunity of reading your treatise on the Administrative System of the Marathas. It contains a very large amount of interesting information, carefully put together, and rendered illuminating by comparison with the description of early Hindu institutions derived from the Dharmasastra literature. It undoubtedly sheds much light on the course of administration prior to the advent of British supremacy, and the impartiality and good sense of such personal judgments as you express deserves recognition."

Prof. Jules Bloch (in *Journal Asiatique*) "C'est un ouvrage solide et important, qui fait honneur á l'auteur et á l'ecole á laquelle il se rattache."

C. H. Keith Jopp. "I think it will prove useful to the student of Maratha history."

The Hon'ble Justice C. A. Kincaid. "I have spent several delightful hours reading your most valuable work 'Administrative System of the Marathas.' It is full of erudition and should long remain the classic text on the subject. I do not fancy any one else would have the industry as well as the learning, to write another such book. I congratulate you warmly on your great achievement."

S. M. Edwardes (in *The Indian Antiquary*, January, 1924). "Much original research in Maratha history has been conducted of late years by Indian scholars, who have thrown a flood of light upon the circumstances and character of the administration founded by Shivaji and subsequently usurped by the Peshwas. In this respect the work of men like the late Professor H. G. Limaye and Messrs. Rajwade, Sardesai, Parasnis and others has been invaluable. Dr. Surendranath Sen has already established his authority in the same field by his excellent translation of the bakhar of Kistnaji Anant Sabhasad, which is unquestionably the most credible and trusworthy of the various old chronicles of Shivaji's life and reign. He has now placed students of Maratha affairs under a further obligation by this careful exposition of the administrative system in vogue in the Deccan in the pre-British period.

The value of his latest work seems to us to lie in its impartiality and in its careful avoidance of extreme diction in cases where the author's views differ from those already expressed by both English and Indian writers. He treats Grant-Duff and Ranade with equal impartiality, and does not hesitate to point out their errors of deduction : he appreciates fully the good features of Shivaji's institutions, but is equally explicit as to their short-comings : and he devotes a distinct section of his work to explaining by carefully chosen quotations and examples that much of Shivaji's administrative machinery was not a new product of his unquestionably resourceful mind, but had its roots deep down in ancient Hindu lore.

As to the actual facts disclosed in Dr. Sen's work, their number is so many and they are so interesting that it is hardly possible to deal with them in the brief compass of a review.

In conclusion, let it suffice to remark that Dr. Sen has produced an admirable work of reference for students of the history of the Deccan in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries."

G. S. Sardesai, (*Vividha Dnan Vistar*) : All students of Maratha History must read the works of Dr. Sen.

Rao Bahadur Kashinath Narayan Sane. " I hasten to congratulate you on your having so systematically and so lucidly brought together all the information available on the subject of the administration of the country under the Maratha Rulers."

Sir Verney Lovett (*in the Asiatic Review*). "The book contains much interesting information."

R. A. Leslie Moore (*Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, London Institutions*). "This book is the result of a wide and careful study of original documents, chiefly Maratha and English, and only needs a more comprehensive glossary."

The Times Literary Supplement .*Thursday 10, May, 1923*. " As in the case of the Great Napoleon, Shivaji the

Conqueror has always been more attractive to historians than Shivaji the Administrator, and less than justice has been done to his constructive ability. Dr. Surendranath Sen has written a scholarly analysis of the Maratha administration under Shivaji and the Peshwas, and in spite of a natural bias in favour of his own country-men he can claim to have proved that the Maratha Government will at least bear favourable comparison with and was in some respects superior to, those of contemporary Europe."

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, October, 1924—" Dr. Surendranath Sen has given us a most careful and comprehensive work and has shown that the work begun so well by Ranade is being continued in competent hands. The fact that the Maratha kingdom lasted for a century and a half should be sufficient to dispel the idea that the Marathas were mere bands of marauders. It comes as a surprise, however, to see what a wealth of material there is for the study of their constitutional and administrative history. The author investigates the origin and development of their institutions, analysing the influence of traditional Hindu systems of polity and of those of their Muslim neighbours. The book is a most valuable addition to the publications of Calcutta University."

Times of India. *15th August, 1923.* " We can hardly find adequate words in which to express our approval of this work and our admiration of the writer's industry. * *

Here we must leave Dr. Sen's fascinating book. Besides its immense value, it throws a curious light on the difficulties which to-day confront an Indian writer. Dr. Sen is a Bengali. In order to obtain a hearing he has to write in English. But he who writes on Maratha history must be conversant both with Marathi and Persian. Dr. Sen promptly learnt these two difficult languages. His work is thus a monument to his wonderful linguistic gifts as well as to his tireless unceasing industry."

Pioneer. *Sunday, the 2nd September, 1923.* " The most noticeable characteristic of this book is a pleasing sobriety of judgment. We have seen much of history written rather from the standpoint of present politics than of past happenings, and we heartily welcome the thoroughly impartial standpoint which Dr. Sen assumes. We are disposed to congratulate him the more warmly, in that the Maratha period of Indian history offers an almost irresistible temptation to the 'patriotic' scholar to discover what is not to be found, and to interpret hard realities in the light of glowing aspirations. The author has confined himself to two principal tasks :he desires, in the first place, to defend Maratha rule from some of the aspersions ignorantly cast upon it; and he traces the connection between the salient features of Maratha institutions and the traditional characteristics of the typical Hindu polity. We may say at once that he has discharged both these tasks with learning, moderation, and a rare sense of historical perspective. * * We congratulate Dr. Sen upon an excellent and most scholarly piece of work."

The Englishman. *Tuesday, 5th June, 1923.* "Displaying an impartial spirit, the author has embodied the results of his five years' toil into a very readable volume which is well up to the traditions of modern historians."

Bombay Chronicle. *Sunday, 10th June, 1923.* The work is bound to be interesting to students of history as well as sociology, though it is neither purely a history nor even a social study. * * On the whole the book is well worth study from whatever standpoint one approaches it."

Rangoon Mail. *Friday, 8th February, 1924.* "In Dr. Surendra Nath Sen, M.A., Ph.D., Lecturer in Maratta History and Marathi Literature and author of Administrative system of the Marhattas (from original sources), we have one more evidence of the genuine spirit of historical research that abounds in the Bengal of to-day. * * The Volume is a thoroughly enjoyable one and has the supreme merit of avoiding extra-learned spurious technicality. We welcome the author because he is an honest student of Indian history : we welcome him because he has the art of simple narration : we welcome him becaus he has really studied his source in a critical and comparative spirit : and we welcome him because men like him of unassuming patriotic impulse are some justification, however slight, of the foreign-ridden University Education now in vogue in this country. Dr. Sen is one of that honest group of earnest students and researchers whom Sir Asutosh Mookerjee has brought together under great handicaps in the Post-Graduate Department of the University of Calcutta and the more young men of Dr. Sen's type take up the burden of Indian historical research out of non-Indian hands, the better for the cause of Indian culture. Dr. Sen's book ought to forge one more link between the great Bengali and Marathi communities in India."

Vividha Dnan Vistar, *June, 1923.* "The road indicated by the late Justice Ranade has been rendered more wide and less thorny by Professor Sen."

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